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KINGS

OF

ROME

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HISTORY
OF
R O M E:

FOR THE USE OF SCHOOLS.

BY
F. W. RICORD.

PART I.—THE KINGS OF ROME.

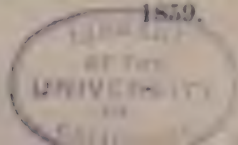
PART II.—THE REPUBLIC OF ROME.

PART III.—THE EMPIRE OF ROME.

NEW YORK:

A. S. BARNES & CO., 51 & 53 JOHN-STREET

1859.



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Arrangement.

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PREFACE.

IN the volume now offered to the public, it is the intention of the author to connect the most important events of Roman history, from the foundation of Rome to the death of Constantine. That these events may be more easily fixed upon the memory, it is thought advisable to separate the narrative into three parts.

PART I. is confined to that period known as the monarchy, which, although very properly regarded as wholly fabulous, is the only foundation that can be obtained for a history upon whose pages almost all the nations of the earth appear.

PART II. gives briefly the narratives which make up the history of the Republic of Rome, and which are rendered none the less instructive to the general reader, and certainly none the less essential to the student, by reason of the abundant acuteness evinced by Beaufort and Niebuhr in disproving the testimonies of Livy and Dionysius. Indeed, a very good knowledge of these narratives is necessary, in order that either pleasure or profit may be derived from the writings of these modern historians.

PART III. begins with the circumstances that

attended the elevation of Octavius, and contains the most interesting portions of the history of the empire to the death of Constantine, during whose reign Rome ceased to be the capital of the world.

There are many persons who, through ignorance of the prominent facts of history, are deprived of much of the pleasure to be derived from every-day reading. The wants of such individuals have not here been forgotten, while, with a view to render the volume desirable for schools, the author has constantly consulted the capacities of the young. Few who read it will fail to go to the sources whence the narrative has been drawn, and will be induced, it is believed, not only to investigate more closely the subjects herein presented, but to pursue the study of this interesting history to the dissolution of the empire.

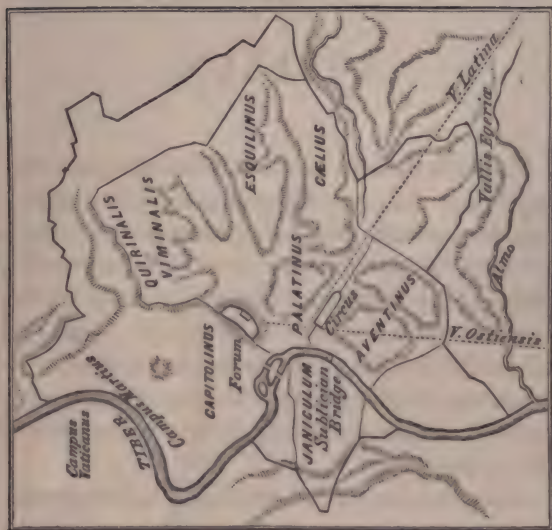
NEWARK, N. J., October, 1858.

ROMULUS.

FROM 752 TO 714 B. C.

714
8

Rome and the surrounding Country—Ancient Inhabitants—Cities of the ancient Latins—Birth of Romulus and Remus—Rhea Silvia—Founding of Rome—Capture of the Sabine Women—War with the Sabines—Tatius—Ambition of Romulus—His death.



MAP OF ROME.

I.

ROMULUS.

THERE is such an air of truthfulness about the legends, or the lays, of Rome that, notwithstanding the amount of learning brought into requisition to extinguish them, they will ever hold a place in the history of this remarkable nation. Besides, though they were utterly unworthy of credibility, they are so interwoven with the literature of all ages, that an acquaintance with them is indispensable to both the reader and the student.

Italy, the country of which Rome is regarded as the centre, has always been celebrated as the most fertile and desirable land of the world. Its delicious fruits, its corn, wine, soil, and cattle form not its only wealth; metals of every kind, valuable stone, and timber here, too, abound. In short, it is a land affording every thing that can administer comfort or pleasure; possessing a climate that has ever been unri-

valled, and presenting a surface unsurpassed for its beautiful diversity of bays, promontories, rivers, mountains, hills, and plains.

This country was originally occupied by numerous, and independent, nations, among whom the most considerable were the Aborigines, a name always given to those inhabitants of a country whose derivation is uncertain. Of these Aborigines there were various tribes; as, for example, the Latins, the Umbrians, the Rutuli, etc., who enjoyed in their separate cities the blessings of liberty and equality. Besides these, there were also the Etrurians, who had sprung from colonies sent out of Lydia and Thessaly. The Sabines, who, finally, became blended with the Romans, were a tribe of the Umbrians, which had been separated from their fellows by the Etrurians, before whose victorious arms they were obliged to fly.

Long before Rome was built, the Latins had founded near its site a large and flourishing city, to which they gave the name of Alba, and which, for a period of four hundred years, continued to be ruled by a race of kings famous for their warlike exploits, and their love of power. This city, and Lavinium which was built by Eneas, soon after the destruction of Troy, are called *the cities of the ancient Latins*.

According to the legend, Romulus, the founder of Rome, and his twin-brother Remus, were descendants of Procas, one of the kings of this ancient city. Their mother was Rhea Silvia, a priestess in the temple of the goddess Vesta. She, herself, was the daughter of the rightful claimant to the throne; and her uncle, who had usurped it, fearing that these children might some day dispossess him, ordered them to be thrown into the river Tiber. They were carried upon the stream to the foot of the hill called the Palatine, where a wolf is said to have nourished them with her milk, until they were discovered by a shepherd who took them into his hut, and, by the aid of his wife, saved them from death.

Growing up to manhood, they exhibited a physical and mental superiority that gained the admiration and obedience of the shepherds by whom they were surrounded. Learning, in time, the history of their parentage, they collected a band of followers, and proceeding to Alba, succeeded, by means of a well-laid plot, in putting to death the usurper of the throne, and placing upon it their injured grandfather.

Restless and ambitious, they were not contented to remain at Alba, and, resolving to build a city for themselves, assembled about

fifteen hundred followers, and proceeded to the banks of the Tiber.

Having selected a spot suitable for their design, some difficulty arose in regard to naming and regulating the future city. A quarrel, finally, took place. From angry words they came to blows. A tumult ensued, their respective friends taking an active part. Romulus, dealing his brother an unfortunate blow, stretched him dead upon the ground.

The building of the city proceeded with great activity, and the fame of Romulus and his followers soon spread throughout the surrounding country. The colony was, however, yet, but small; and to increase it more rapidly, Romulus opened a sanctuary, or place of safety, in the city, for all who might choose to avail themselves of it. Thither immediately fled from the neighboring states crowds of people: freemen and slaves, good and bad. That this increasing strength might be properly regulated, the sagacious leader instituted an order of nobles, whom he called Senators. They were styled Fathers, and their descendants Patricians.

Unfortunately, very few of the colonists were provided with wives, and as there were scarcely any females in the city, Romulus

Capture of the Sabine Women.

feared that his subjects might forsake him. To guard against this, he sent ambassadors to the adjoining states to solicit permission for his people to marry among them. But this being refused, he resolved to accomplish his design by stratagem.

Dissembling as well as possible the indignity offered to him and his people, he made great preparations for the celebration of solemn games in honor of Neptune. The celebration of these games he caused to be proclaimed throughout all the adjoining states, and nothing was omitted that might attract attention to them. When the day arrived, crowds of people from the surrounding country, poured into Rome. The Cæninensians, the Crustuminians, and especially great multitudes of the Sabines came with their wives and children. As soon as the immense circus where the games were to be held was filled, Romulus, seated upon a gorgeous tribunal, gave the signal, and in an instant the Roman youth, who had well arranged themselves for the occasion, rushed, sword in hand, into the midst of the unsuspecting multitude. Overturning the unarmed men who opposed them, they seized upon the terrified females, and bore them off to their respective homes.

Deep hatred immediately took possession of the people thus grossly injured by the Romans. Wars began, and nation after nation marched against Rome; but they were invariably defeated and forced to retreat. The Sabines were not, however, overcome as easily as the others, and, after several bloody battles, they were pacified only by the interference of their captured women, who rushed into the midst of the contending armies and begged them to lay aside their arms. A treaty was made between them and the Romans, by which Romulus, and Tatius, king of the Sabines, became kings of Rome with equal powers and equal honors. They continued to reign together in the most friendly manner for nearly six years, when Tatius was slain by a party of Laurentians who had been offended by some of his acts.

The nations bordering upon Rome continued to be troublesome for a long time; and it required all the skill and strength of Romulus to subdue them. In this he, finally, succeeded; and, then, finding himself comparatively unoccupied, he undertook, in various ways, to increase his authority at home. Three hundred young men, called *Celeres*, were appointed to wait upon him; and the Senate, with whom he had been wont to advise and co-operate, were

stripped of their power, and forced to meet in the Council-house only to listen to his despotic orders.

These and many other things were submitted to with becoming patience, but the pride and ambition of Romulus were daily becoming more intolerable. Finally, after the subjugation of the Veientians, he divided, without the consent or approbation of the Senate, the conquered lands among his soldiers, and sent home the hostages. The indignation of the Senate was beyond control, and, soon afterwards, Romulus disappeared, and no trace of him could ever be found.

This event occurred after a reign of thirty-seven years; and his extraordinary disappearance was accounted for in a variety of ways. The Senators declared that he had been carried up to heaven on a flash of lightning, to take his place among the gods, but they were boldly accused by the people of having murdered him; and it was only by a well-devised story that they were able to save themselves from the fury of the people, by whom Romulus was much beloved.



NUMA POMPILIUS.

FROM 714 TO 670 B. C.

Appearance of Rome at the death of Romulus—Interregnum—Choice of a King—Wisdom displayed by Numa—Temple of Janus—Religion of the Romans—The Salii—Division of the Lands—Distribution of the Citizens—Reformation of the Calendar—Death of Numa—Sorrow of the people



NUMA CLOSING THE TEMPLE OF JANUS.

II.

NUMA POMPILIUS.

ROME, if we may believe the legend, had, under the administration of Romulus, risen to an astonishing height of power. At his death, all within its walls was activity and life. Temples and palaces looked proudly from its hill-tops. Through its numerous gates poured busy thousands; but the tools of its workmen sounded only for the purpose of adding further strength to its citadels; its anvils rang only under the glowing metal destined for swords and spears, and the busy thousands that went in and out of its gates, were all clothed in the panoply of war.

The death of Romulus was rendered more grievous by the fact that he had not bequeathed his spirit to a son, who, stepping into his place, might lead the people on in the path of glory which they had so long been treading. A king could not be made at once, for the Ro-

mans and Sabines who composed the nation, were not yet so thoroughly commingled as to feel like one people. While the latter feared that by too easily yielding they might wholly lose their claims, the former spurned the thought of having a foreigner placed upon the throne.

The safety of the nation demanding a head, the Senate assumed, by turns, the royal prerogative. This body was composed of a hundred individuals, taken equally from the two people. They divided themselves into ten decades, and each member presided by turns in his own decade. The time that each held the government was limited to five days; and the administration went to them all in rotation. A year passed by in this manner without a king, and the interval was, from this circumstance, called an interregnum. The people became, at last, dissatisfied with this mode of government, and declared to the Senate that they would have a king.

An election was accordingly held; and the choice fell upon Numa Pompilius, a private individual, living near Cures, a city of the Sabines. He hesitated, some time, to accept the charge of governing a martial and impetuous people; but, persuaded by omens and entreat-

ies, he finally came to Rome, and was there invested with the insignia of royalty.

Numa saw that, in the first place, it was important to gain the confidence of the people; and he knew very well that, in order to accomplish this, he must show his confidence in them. To this end, he had no sooner assumed authority, than he caused the three hundred men, called Celeres, whom Romulus always kept about his person as guards, to be discharged. This act not only raised him higher in the opinion of his subjects, but tended greatly to increase his power.

With a view to divert their thoughts from war, and to give them a fondness for peace, he marked out the ground for a magnificent temple, in honor of Janus, the most ancient king of Italy. It was to be a large edifice, or, perhaps, more properly, an arch, in the form of a square, and containing a statue of the monarch whom it commemorated. Its brazen gates, Numa declared, should be kept open in time of war, and shut in time of peace. As soon, therefore, as the temple was completed, he caused the people to assemble about it, and, in a very solemn manner, closed its massive gates, expressing, at the same time, an earnest desire that the peace which they were then enjoying

with all nations, might continue during his reign. Wonderful as it may seem, after the death of Numa, these gates were closed twice, only, during a period of more than six hundred years.

So great was the anxiety of Numa to maintain peace and promote the welfare of his people, that he favored a belief generally entertained, that the goddess Egeria and the Muses appeared to him, and taught him how to rule his kingdom. This belief gave great weight to his instructions, and his wishes seemed to be regarded as divine commands.

The Romans believed in an immortal race of beings, inhabiting the sky, whom they called gods. These were regarded as the creators and preservers of all things, as intimately acquainted with human affairs, and mindful of the action of men and states, rewarding good and punishing evil. The worship of these gods was performed in a very irregular manner, and one of Numa's earliest cares was to reduce it to a regular system.

He instituted an order of priests that afterwards became so highly respected that the most distinguished men of Rome, and even emperors, were proud to be of the number. These were called *Salii*. They were created in honor

of Mars, and their name is derived from the word *Salire*, to dance, because, on certain festival days, they passed about the city, dancing and singing in honor of that divinity. Their number was originally twelve, but they were afterwards increased to twenty-four by Tullus Hostilius.

By thus directing the attention of the people to matters of religion, he succeeded in preserving a profound peace. In the mean time, he caused them to cultivate habits of industry, and taught them that idleness was hateful to the gods. He encouraged them to be contented with whatever might be their lot in life. He cherished in them generous sentiments, and inspired them with love for the gods, with whose goodness he sought every opportunity to impress them. In a short time, the Roman people underwent an entire change. Numa was loved, almost adored, by them; and they, in turn, were the admiration of all surrounding nations.

In perfecting his regulations, Numa caused the boundaries of the Roman State to be marked out. The lands which had been acquired by Romulus he divided among the indigent citizens, in order to preserve them from the commission of crimes to which they might be driven

by poverty. The country was divided into *pagi*, or boroughs, and over each borough was appointed a governor or overseer. Through the instrumentality of these, the people were encouraged to industry and a love of husbandry. Numa frequently went out himself from the city to visit his agricultural subjects, inspected their farms, censured the indolent, and advanced the industrious to posts of honor and trust.

In order to unite more perfectly the two people composing the Roman nation, he distributed all the citizens into companies, according to their arts and trades. Thus the distinction between Sabines and Romans was entirely forgotten, and all the people were thoroughly united into one.

Not among the least of the works of Numa was the attempt which he made to reform the calendar. In this he showed a great deal of skill, although it was reserved for Julius Caesar to accomplish this difficult task.

When death at last came to put an end to his peaceful labors, he had become quite old. Fourscore years had passed over him, more than half of which had been devoted to the service of his country. The news of his departure seemed to carry desolation everywhere. Not

Mourning for Numa.

only did the Romans grieve for him as a father, but the neighboring nations mourned that a benefactor was lost to all mankind. In token of their sorrow, they poured into Rome to aid in doing honor to his remains, bringing with them crowns and public offerings without number. The bier was carried by the Senators, followed by a long procession of priests; men, women, and children crowded after, not as if they were attending the funeral of an aged king, but with tears and loud lamentations, as if they had lost a beloved relative in the bloom of life.

TULLUS HOSTILIUS.

FROM 670 TO 638 B.C.

Election of Tullus Hostilius—His generous Conduct—
Difficulties with the Albans—Mode of settling them—Com-
bat between the Horatii and Curiatii—Treachery of Mettius
Fuffetius—His Death—Pestilence in Rome—Death of Tul-
lus.



FIGHT BETWEEN THE HORATHI AND THE CURATHI.

III.

TULLUS HOSTILIUS.

SCARCELY had the peaceful Numa been laid in his grave, than the brazen gates of the temple of Janus were thrown open, as an indication that Rome was once more plunged in war.

Tullus Hostilius, a Roman by birth, and the son of a distinguished general, was elected king; and his whole reign proved to be one of war and bloodshed. His first act was, however, a generous one, and well calculated to secure for him the confidence and esteem of his countrymen. No sooner had he received the sceptre, than he caused a proclamation to be made throughout the city, that it was his intention to receive nothing whatever of what had been appropriated for the support of his predecessors; that his own private income was sufficient for his necessities, and that the lands devoted to the former kings should be divided among the poorer citizens. Nor did he stop here; for,

notwithstanding this noble provision for his more humble subjects, there still remained a large number who were destitute of lands and houses. In order to accommodate these, he caused the walls of the city to be extended so as to inclose a very considerable tract, embracing Mount Cælius; and here he made such an allotment, that not a single citizen of Rome remained without ground sufficient for a dwelling place.

The principal events of his reign grew out of the jealousy which sprang up between Rome and the city of Alba, which might be called the mother of Rome. During the reign of Numa, these two cities had continued in entire peace with each other; but no sooner had Tullus received the sceptre, than difficulties broke out between them.

War was declared on both sides; and the Alban king set out, without delay, with a powerful army, for Rome. He died, however, of an insidious disease, just after bringing his troops within five miles of the city, and after having prepared to attack it. With great presence of mind, his officers concealed his death, and selected Mettius Fuffetius to conduct the war.

News of the king's death was, however, carried to Rome, and Tullus collecting immedi-

ately a large army, sallied forth by night, passed the enemy's camp, and pushed on rapidly with the intention of destroying Alba. Mettius, hearing of this procedure, sent with all speed an ambassador to Tullus, urging him to stop, as he wished to propose something for his consideration which concerned the interest of Rome no less than that of Alba.

Tullus stopped; and Mettius and his army coming up soon after, the two commanders held a long conference, when it was agreed between them that the destiny of their respective nations should be decided by a combat between six individuals, three to be selected from each of the hostile armies.

Champions on both sides immediately presented themselves, and the most wonderful emulation arose, both among the officers and soldiers. The leaders, indeed, found great difficulty in making choice of the most suitable persons; and the selection would have been almost impossible, if Mettius had not called to mind the existence of six extraordinary youths, three of whom were Romans and three Albans, and all closely related. These youths were the offspring of twin-sisters, one of whom had married Horatius, a Roman, and the other Curiatius, an Alban. They were, consequently, cousins;

and, what was most remarkable, were born upon the same day.

The necessary arrangements for the combat having been completed, the two armies were drawn up opposite to each other, and the youths were led into the centre of the space between them. At an appointed signal, their swords were drawn, and they rushed upon one another with the fury of demons. Both armies watched in breathless silence, their hopes of success, for a season, equally balanced.

Presently, a shout of joy ascended from the Alban ranks, and in the centre of the field four combatants alone were visible; two of the Horatii lay dead, and the remaining brother, surrounded by his victorious foes, seemed threatened with immediate destruction. Hitherto, however, he had not been wounded, while all his enemies were weakened by divers injuries. He resolved to fight them separately; and, with this in view, darted away from them, as it to save himself by flight. His enemies fancying him to be an easy prey, followed exultingly, though with unequal steps.

Perceiving them to be sufficiently separated, Horatius wheeled suddenly round, and rushing with the fury of a madman upon his nearest pursuer, stretched him lifeless upon the ground.

In the same manner he attacked the second, and, finally, the third, when a deafening shout of joy burst from the Roman ranks, while the vanquished Albans, with undisguised sorrow, threw down their arms, and, in the attitude of slaves, patiently awaited the orders to which they had been so unexpectedly subjected.

On returning to Rome, the victorious Horatius slew his sister because she wept over the fallen Curiatii, to one of whom she was betrothed. For this he was condemned to die, but was subsequently acquitted by a vote of the people.

Mettius Fuffetius was permitted to return with his army to Alba; but having attempted, not long after, to betray the Romans to their enemies, the Veientians, he was taken by Tullus and barbarously put to death. At the same time, all the people of Alba were removed to Rome, and their ancient city was levelled to the ground.

Not long after this event, a war broke out with the Fidenatians, which resulted in their overthrow. Then followed a succession of bloody battles with the Sabines, a portion of which nation had not removed to Rome, at the time of their union with the Roman people.

These wars were followed by a dreadful pes-

tilence, which carried off, daily, hundreds of the citizens of Rome. Tullus did all in his power to mitigate the calamity, and by constantly occupying his people, and furnishing them with excitement, caused them to forget in some degree the frightful scourge with which they were visited.

The plague gradually subsided, but the days of the warlike king were drawing to a close, and he who but lately thought that nothing betrayed so much weakness, or was so unworthy of a king, as to be occupied with matters of religion, became a slave to every kind of superstition. While engaged, one day, in performing a sacrifice to Jupiter, a violent storm arose; the house in which he dwelt was struck by lightning, and both himself and his property were all reduced to ashes.

ANCUS MARCIUS.

FROM 638 TO 614 B. C.

Character of Ancus Marcius—Condition of Rome—Reforms in Rome—Troubles with the Latins—Conquest of the Latins—Enlargement of Rome—Public Improvements—Death of Ancus.

IV.

ANCUS MARCIUS.

ANCUS MARCIUS, though the grandson of the gentle Numa, and a man distinguished throughout Rome for the mildness of his disposition, and for his fondness for the arts of peace, proved himself a brave soldier and a skilful commander.

His elevation to the throne is attributed to an anxiety on the part of the people to repair the evils resulting from the warlike disposition of Tullus. The temples of the gods had, in fact, been almost abandoned, and commerce, agriculture, and the arts had not, for many years, received that care and protection which a king should bestow upon matters of such consequence.

The people were not disappointed entirely in their expectations, for Ancus began his reign by the most strenuous efforts to correct the abuses that had been tolerated by his predeces-

sor. The worship in the temples, and the daily sacrifices, were once more conducted with all their ancient regularity and solemnity, and whatever had been neglected or suffered to decay he restored to its original condition. The arts began again to flourish, and the fields and plains that lay around the city resumed the thriving appearance which they were wont to wear during the reign of Numa.

The preparations which Ancus made for a peaceful reign were scarcely completed, when the restless Latins, flattered by the hope of success, and regardless of the treaty established with Tullus, began to make incursions into the Roman territories. Unwilling to resort to violent measures, if satisfaction could be otherwise obtained, Ancus sent ambassadors to the Latins, instructing them to complain of the outrages committed against the Roman people, and to demand reparation. But the Latins being unwilling to atone for their misdeeds, he determined to make them an example to the other nations around him.

His first step was towards Politorium, a large and well-fortified city belonging to this people. Having broken down the walls, and entered the city with his victorious troops, he caused the people to be disarmed, and, without de-

stroying a single house, marched them all, after the example of Tullus, to Rome.

This conquest having been made sure, he laid siege to Tellenæ, and likewise to Ficana, compelling these cities to submit, and forcing the inhabitants to follow those of Politorium to Rome. The Latins remaining unconquered and resolute in their resistance to the Roman power, concentrated their forces in Medullia, where they made preparations for a final encounter with their victorious foes.

Ancus proceeded against them with entire success. He made himself master of their stronghold, deprived them of their arms, and, causing all their treasures to be removed to Rome, sent them thither also, as he had sent others upon former occasions. Thus the population of Rome was again augmented by several thousands, and it became necessary to extend its limits. The ground lying near the temple of Marcia was allotted to the new-comers, in order to unite the Aventine to the Palatine hill. Janiculum was also inclosed within the city, that it might never be used as a place of strength for an enemy,—a connection with it being formed by means of a wooden bridge built across the Tiber.

Besides the great additions which Ancus

made to the population and extent of Rome, he found means of making a port at the mouth of the Tiber, quite sufficient for the wants of the city. Here he also founded and fortified a town which he called Ostia.

In proportion as the number of citizens increased, licentiousness and crime increased also; and greater severity on the part of the government became necessary. In order to check the audacity of evil-doers, and to intimidate, by the fear of punishment, those whom respect for the laws could not restrain, Ancus built a prison in the midst of the city, near the Forum. The salutary effect of this soon became quite evident.

The success of Ancus as a general did not cause him to forget his duty to the gods. A prospect of peace having occurred, he took occasion to testify his thanks by enlarging the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, which had been dedicated to this divinity by Romulus, after his victory over the Cæninensians.

After a reign of twenty-four years, Ancus died, beloved by his family and lamented by his subjects. No king was ever more sincerely desirous of promoting the welfare of his country, and the cause of religion and morality. As an evidence of the affection of his people,

Death of Ancus.

the title of "*Good*" was bestowed upon him ; and at his death almost as much sorrow was manifested as upon the decease of Numa. He left many enduring monuments of his wisdom and prudence ; and the greatness to which Rome finally arrived, was, in no small degree, owing to his generous efforts.

TARQUINIUS PRISCUS.

FROM 614 TO 576 B. C.

51

Story of Tarquinius—His arrival at Rome—His Election as King—Enlargement of the Senate—Wars of Tarquinius—Public Works—Story of the Augur Navius—Invasion of the Tyrrhenians—New Wall about Rome—The Sewers--The Paved Roads—Difficulty with the Sons of Ancus—Murder of Tarquinius—Stratagem of Tanaquil—Success of Servius.



THE OMEN GRANTED TO TARQUINIA PRISCA.

V.

TARQUINIUS PRISCUS.

TARQUINIUS PRISCUS, the fifth king of Rome, was a man of Corinthian origin, who, during the reign of Ancus Marcius, was attracted to Rome by the numerous advantages there afforded of obtaining wealth or honor. On his way to the city, accompanied by his wife, Tanquil, and a retinue of servants, an eagle, flying from the adjacent rocks, descended slowly over his chariot, and, taking off his cap, flew rapidly aloft; in a little while it returned, and, uttering a piercing scream, replaced the cap and disappeared. "Behold, Lucumo," cried his wife, "a messenger from heaven, portending the most magnificent fortune! Thou shalt be the noblest among the nobles of Rome!"

A stranger possessing such wealth and such personal attractions, could not remain long unnoticed in Rome; nor did he lose any opportunity of gaining the attention and conciliating

Tarquinius elected King.

the friendship of the people. Even the king sought him; and a mutual and strong attachment sprang up between them.

As usual, soon after the death of Ancus, an election of a king was held, and Tarquinius was, with little difficulty, able to succeed him upon the throne. In order to strengthen himself in the opinion of the lower classes of people, he chose a hundred men from among the Plebeians, and elevated them to the rank of Patricians and Senators. Thus the Senate was composed of three hundred members, and so continued during several centuries.

The nations adjacent to Rome were not slow in throwing obstacles in the way of the new king, and upon the most trifling pretexts the Latins, the Etrurians, and the Sabines forgot the treaties and oaths which had been extracted from them by his predecessors.

The first transgressors were from the Latin city of Appiolæ, against which Tarquinius marched with a powerful army. His success was complete, and having plundered and burned the town, he carried great numbers of the inhabitants to Rome. This achievement was commemorated by the building of an immense circus between the Palatine and Aventine hills.

But Tarquinius had not much time to rest. His jealous neighbors watched him on every side, determined, if possible, to accomplish his downfall. Nation after nation fell upon him, and were beaten, one by one, when they finally contrived to unite their strength; but, even then, they were unable to match the skill of the Roman king, or the valor of the Roman soldiers. Tarquinius gained rapid and brilliant victories, and gathered into Rome stores of the most valuable booty.

Obtaining a little respite from war, he determined to provide for the greater safety of the city, by surrounding it with a more substantial wall. He had observed, during his recent expeditions, that the principal defect in his army was a want of cavalry; and, to remedy this, he resolved to improve the present opportunity by adding other centuries to those instituted by Romulus, and to have them distinguished by his own name. Making known his intention, he found it bitterly opposed by a very celebrated augur named Navius, who predicted that serious calamities would befall Rome, if any of the institutions of Romulus were altered.

Tarquinius was very angry at this opposition, but being afraid to disregard the warnings of

the augur, he determined, at least, to prove him to be a false prophet. Summoning Navius to his tribunal, he said to him, in the presence of a large number of spectators: "This is the time, Navius, for you to show the certainty of your prophetic art; for I have in my thoughts a great undertaking, and would like to know whether it be practicable or not." Without much hesitation, Navius assured the king that it would be practicable. Tarquinius then taking out a razor and a hone from under his robe, said: "I wish to know, by the rules of your art, whether, if I strike the hone with this razor, I shall cut it asunder." Looking undisturbed at the king, Navius replied: "Strike the hone confidently, as you proposed, Tarquinius, for it will be cut asunder; if not, I am ready to submit to any punishment." The king struck, and the razor, cleaving the hone, cut also the hand that supported it.

In consequence of this, Tarquinius abandoned his design of adding to the number of the centuries, but he doubled the number of men in each of those already instituted. With an army thus increased, he again made preparations to oppose the Sabines and Tyrrhenians, who, notwithstanding their recent defeats, lost no opportunity to annoy him. Once more he scat-

tered the Sabines, and destroyed the flower of their army; but the Tyrrhenians, still undaunted, united all their forces and committed terrible ravages upon the Roman territories.

Tarquinius, mustering all his troops, sallied forth to repel the invaders. One division of his army, under the command of Egerius, his lieutenant, was put to flight and sorely beaten; but Tarquinius himself, without paying attention to this disaster, went from one city to another of Tyrrhenia, putting to the sword all who opposed him, and plundering wherever he could find any thing of value. Encountering the army that had routed Egerius, he fell upon it with the utmost fury, and, not contented with a simple victory, he whipped its leaders through the streets of Fidenæ, beheaded some, and sent others of them into perpetual banishment. The Tyrrhenians, routed and beaten on every side, fled to the fastnesses of the mountains, or gave themselves up to their conquerors. Tarquinius was greatly applauded for his brilliant achievements, and the Senate, in token of their appreciation of his military skill, decreed to him the honors of a triumph.

After some further difficulties with the Sabines, whom he finally overcame, Tarquinius was able to give his attention to various enter-

prises of a peaceful character. Besides rebuilding the walls of Rome, which was done in a substantial manner, he constructed many other works, that have always been the wonder and glory of the city. Among these, not the least remarkable were the sewers, used for collecting the foul water from the streets and conveying it to the Tiber. These sewers, or *cloacæ*, as they were called, were constructed under almost all the streets of Rome, and nearly every house was furnished with pipes communicating with them.

The celebrated paved ways, or roads, of Rome were also introduced by Tarquinius. It is true that, during his time, they were not extended beyond the city, because there was very little friendly intercourse with the surrounding nations. About four hundred years after the foundation of Rome, these roads extended to the most distant provinces, constituting the most useful and the most durable of her works.

Tarquinius, having reigned thirty-eight years, was rendered incapable of managing the affairs of government, by reason of his advanced age. Finding that Servius Tullius, his adopted son, enjoyed the esteem of the Senate as well as of the people, he committed almost every thing to his care. This was a source of great vexation to the two sons of Ancus Marcius, his prede-

cessor, who had always regarded Tarquinius as an usurper of their rights. Upon several occasions they had made ineffectual attempts to remove him, and now, as they became well convinced that he would not resign the sceptre in their favor, they resolved to be, at least, revenged of the injury which they had received.

Two persons, whose services they had secured, contriving to obtain access to the king, slew him by means of axes which they had concealed about their persons. Tanaquil, his wife, overhearing the tumult, rushed to the chamber of the king, where many persons were already assembled. Instantly deciding what would be her best policy, she stooped over the body of the king, pretending to examine his wound, and, pronouncing it to be nothing more than a slight scratch, ordered bandages and ointments, requesting, at the same time, that all present should leave the palace.

Finding herself alone with the dead body, she admitted Servius, for whom she had previously sent, and, showing him the late king, she laid hold of his right hand, beseeching him, at the same time, that he would not suffer the death of his father-in-law to pass unrevenged, nor his mother-in-law to be exposed to the insults of their enemies. "Servius," said she,

“if you act as a man, the kingdom is yours, and not theirs, who, by the hands of others, have perpetrated the basest of crimes.”

Having arranged every thing with Servius, she proceeded to a balcony, which overlooked the street, where a large multitude of people had assembled, to learn the result of what had happened. Assuming a cheerful countenance, she commanded their attention, and then told them, in a pleasant manner, that there was no occasion for their alarm, as the king had only been stunned by the blow which he had received. She also told the people, that it was his wish that they should obey the orders of Servius Tullius, who would administer justice, and supply his place until he should be able to resume his duties. At this intelligence, the people expressed entire satisfaction; and, soon after, Servius made his appearance, clothed in the robes of state, and attended by the lictors. Seating himself upon the throne, he proceeded to the trial of some causes then in progress, adjudging some, and, concerning others, pretending that he would obtain the king's opinion. Thus, for several days, the king's death was kept a profound secret; Servius, in the mean time, taking every opportunity to strengthen his own interests.

SERVIUS TULLIUS.

FROM 576 TO 532 B. C.

Early History of Servius—His Usurpation of the Throne—His plans to gain the Good-will of the People—He is elected King—His Apprehensions—The Census—Enlargement of the City—Conduct of Lucius Tarquinius—His bold attempt to obtain the Crown—Murder of Servius—Cruelty of his Daughter.



TULLIA DRIVING OVER THE DEAD BODY OF HER FATHER.

VI.

SERVIUS TULLIUS.

SERVIUS TULLIUS, according to the legend, was the son of a female slave belonging to the household of Tarquinius, his father being a Latin officer, who was slain while bravely fighting in behalf of his country. Some marvellous circumstances attending his infancy, induced the king and queen to adopt him, and to educate him for any station in life that he might choose. While yet very young, he accompanied Tarquinius upon several of his expeditions, and exhibited so much bravery that the whole army accorded to him a share of praise which no other person was able to claim.

Having, by aid of Tanaquil, placed himself upon the throne, as already related, he managed for some days to retain it unmolested. Then, banishing the two sons of Ancus Marcius, he made known to the people that Tarquinius was dead, and gave orders, also, for the cele-

bration of his funeral. This was conducted in the most magnificent manner, Servius retaining, meanwhile, the robes of state, together with all the other insignia of royalty.

With the utmost self-possession, and without consulting the wishes of either the people or the Senate, he took upon himself the administration of public affairs, as guardian of the children of the late king. But, notwithstanding the favor in which he was generally held, this proceeding was strongly disapproved, and the Senate resolved that they would compel him to lay aside the robes and other ensigns of royalty.

Receiving information of this resolution, Servius applied himself to flatter and court the poorer classes, in hopes that through them he might be able to retain his power. To this end, he called an assembly of the people, and made them a long speech, in which he held out to them promises that could not fail to call forth the most noisy applause. On every hand he was extolled for his fidelity and justice to his benefactors, for his humanity and generosity to the poor, and for his kindness to those of an inferior rank.

On the following day, he caused a list to be made of all the insolvent debtors in Rome, together with the sums which each of them owed

His plans to win the People.

respectively. As soon as this list was completed, he commanded tables to be placed in the Forum, and, in the presence of all the citizens, he paid the money to the creditors. This business being done, he published a decree by which it was ordained that those who had converted the public lands to their own use should give up possession within a certain number of days; and that those citizens who had no lands should give in their names to him.

Having thus acquired a great multitude of friends, he laid aside his robes of state, and, putting on a very mean dress, came, one day, into the Forum. Such an extraordinary proceeding caused a great sensation throughout the city, and the people came to the place in crowds, to know its meaning. Servius, mounting the tribunal, told them, in a long speech, that, inasmuch as it was the determination of the Senate and the Patricians to drive him from the throne, he had determined to let the people choose some one to rule them in his stead. "Take, then, the rods," he exclaimed, "and give them, if you think fit, to the Patricians; my presence shall cause you no further trouble."

The people, making a great clamor, entreated him to continue in the administration of affairs.

His particular friends, who were scattered about in different parts of the Forum, cried out that they ought to make him king, and demanded a vote of the people to be taken. The demand being constantly repeated, an election was held, and, as might be expected, a large majority of the people cast their votes for him, and he accepted the kingly office, though the Senate refused to confirm the proceedings of the people.

Fearing lest the two grandsons of the late king, Tarquinius, might, some day, dispute with him the crown, he contrived to marry them to his two daughters, who were about the same age. But this device, as we shall see, was insufficient to protect him against the envy which sovereign power will always draw upon itself.

Frequent wars occurred during almost the entire reign of Servius, the advantage being uniformly upon the side of the Romans. Returning victorious from his first campaign, he undertook a variety of political improvements of great and lasting importance. These improvements have served to immortalize his name, and place him, in fact, by the side of the greatest legislators of the world.

The first of these works was the establishment of the *census*, or registry of the Roman citizens and their property. He then divided the citi-

zens, according to their possessions, into six classes, and these classes he subdivided into centuries. Each of these classes had its particular arms; and the soldiers selected from each, had their particular positions in the army. Previous to this, the poor citizens were obliged to pay the same amount of taxes, and render the same services in war as the rich; but in consequence of this disposition of the people, he raised soldiers according to the division of the centuries, and taxes in proportion to their possessions.

The population of Rome having very much increased, Servius added two more hills to the city: one called the Viminal, and the other the Esquiline, hill. The land thus included within the city, he divided among such of the Romans as had no houses; and he, himself, fixed his habitation in the most convenient part of the Esquiline Hill. This is the last addition that was ever made to the city. It now stood upon seven hills; every increase of its dimensions having been made after first consulting the auspices as the law directed, and performing religious rites.

Servius spent a large portion of his time in devising and executing plans for the general good, but he was constantly annoyed by the in-

subordination of the nations conquered by his predecessors. These he punished, one after another, until they became thoroughly convinced of his ability to control them.

The earliest and worst fears of Servius now began to be realized. Lucius Tarquinius, grandson of the late king, and son-in-law of Servius, became impatient for the crown, and, instigated by Tullia, his wife, determined to possess it at all hazards. Reports of their proceedings were brought to the king, who, while he listened to them with calmness, was filled with resentment as well as with uncertainty as to the course most advisable for him to pursue.

He concluded to remonstrate with his son-in-law, and to persuade him, if possible, to relinquish a scheme which must inevitably end in misfortune and ruin. But the insolent Tarquinius charged his father-in-law with having deprived him of the throne, and appealed to the Senate to sustain his cause. The Senate, who hated Servius, were glad of any thing that might relieve them of his odious presence. They were, therefore, disposed to aid Tarquinius in his base design.

Appealing to the people, Servius succeeded, with little difficulty, in silencing the Senate, and in driving Tarquinius into concealment.

His bold attempt to possess the Throne.

But a favorable opportunity occurring, Tarquinius, accompanied by a number of his friends, sallied forth, determined to make a bold stroke for the kingdom. Getting possession of the axes of the lictors, and the royal robes, he placed the former in the hands of some of his domestics, and arraying himself in the latter, he proceeded cautiously to the Forum. Entering the Senate-house, he seated himself upon the throne, where the Senate, having assembled, paid to him all the honors of his station.

Servius, being informed of what had taken place, hastened to the Senate-chamber, and seeing Tarquinius seated upon the throne, reproached him in bitter terms for his conduct. Tarquinius, exulting in the favorable opportunity, leaped from his seat, and seizing the aged king by the throat, dragged him to the stairs which led from the apartment, and threw him violently to the pavement below. The servants of Servius, outnumbered by those of Tarquinius, fled in terror, and the old man, stunned by the blow and covered with blood, was obliged to rise without the least assistance, and to proceed homeward undefended.

While Servius was on his way to the palace, the servants of Tarquinius, by order of their

master, overtook him, and having barbarously slain him, left his body in the middle of the street. Not long after, his daughter Tullia, the wife of Tarquinius, reached the spot in her chariot. The street being narrow, and the body of the king lying directly across it, her horses became frightened and were arrested by the driver. "Why do you stop?" cried Tullia; "drive on, slave!" "Look!" replied the driver, "the dead body of your father lies before us, and there is no passage except we drive across it!" "Then drive across it, wretch!" exclaimed the heartless woman; and away went the heavy chariot, breaking the bones and tearing the flesh of the unfortunate Servius.

The street in which this horrid scene occurred, received the name of *Vicus Sceleratus*, *the impious street*. When the death of Servius became generally known, a tumult ensued, and Tarquinius was obliged to conceal himself in order to save his life.

TARQUINIUS SUPERBUS.

FROM 532 TO 507 B. C.

Fears of Tarquinius—His Precautions—His Cruelty—His foreign Alliances—Wars of Tarquinius—Prodigies—Story of Lucretia—Conduct of Brutus and his Companions—Choice of annual Magistrates—Conspiracy to overturn the Republic—Condemnation and Death of the Sons of Brutus—Efforts of Tarquinius to regain the Throne—Lars Porsenna.



BRUTUS AND HIS COMPANIONS.

VII.

TARQUINIUS SUPERBUS.

TARQUINIUS SUPERBUS, or Tarquin the Proud, was thus named because of the imperious air which he assumed upon all occasions, both public and private. His reign, as may be supposed from what has been already related of him, began in fear and trembling. The dread of poison and the assassin's dagger tormented him so much, that, for some time after the murder of Servius, he scarcely ventured beyond the walls of his own dwelling. By night he kept around his palace a strong body of chosen men, armed with swords and spears, and, by day, they attended him wherever he went.

Spies informed him of every thing that transpired within his kingdom, and any one who uttered a word against him was sure to be put to death. Hundreds of persons, including Senators and the wealthiest men of Rome, fell a sacrifice to his barbarity; and the Plebeians,

whom he disdained to kill, were tormented by his unjust and cruel laws. The institutions of Servius, by which they were protected against injury from the Patricians, were all taken away, and the taxes which he imposed upon them, stripped the poorer classes of almost all their possessions.

Nor was this all ; for, by the power which he obtained through bribery and threats, he was enabled to compel multitudes of the poor to labor, merely for their food, at the building of temples and other public works, which he undertook with great vigor. For all these evils there seemed to be no remedy, for the Patricians were pleased to see the common people oppressed, and the common people were not sorry that the Patricians had been robbed of their power.

To make up for his want of friends at home, he sought to strengthen himself by foreign alliances, and giving his daughter in marriage to Octavius Mamilius, a man of great power and renown throughout the whole Latin nation, he secured his favor, together with that of the most considerable magistrates in every city.

Tarquinius was not unambitious of military fame, nor was his knowledge of war by any means contemptible. On the other hand, he

might have equalled, perhaps surpassed, the glory of his predecessors, had the baseness and wickedness of his character been less glaring. Some cities of the Volsci having refused to enter into alliance with him, he made war upon them, and took by storm Suessa Pometia, from which he realized a very large booty.

Hearing, soon after, that the Sabines were ravaging the Roman territory, he marched out against them and succeeded in destroying their entire army. But he was less fortunate against the Gabians, who had rendered themselves very odious to him by giving protection to many of his enemies, and especially to the banished citizens of Rome. Army after army was sent against them, but to no purpose. Finally, they were conquered by means of a stratagem devised by his eldest son, Sextus Tarquinius.

This Roman king, according to the legend, was especially favored with prodigies of various kinds, which had great influence upon the people, many of whom regarded them as evidences of the high esteem in which he was held by the gods.

While Tarquinius was engaged in besieging Ardea, a city of the Rutulians, a circumstance occurred which resulted, according to the legend, in his downfall and expulsion from Rome.

Sextus, his eldest son, conceiving a strong passion for Lucretia, the wife of his cousin Collatinus Tarquinius, went to her house, and after urging her to abandon her husband, forced her to commit a crime for which she afterwards stabbed herself dead in the presence of her father, and of Collatinus, with his friends Valerius and Brutus. "Swear," she cried to them with her dying breath, "that the destroyer of my peace shall not go unpunished! It is Sextus Tarquinius who hath wronged thee, O Collatinus, and carried sorrow into thy household! If ye be men, swear that he shall not escape."

Springing towards the body of Lucretia, Brutus snatched from the wound the bloody knife, and raising it to his lips, exclaimed: "By this blood most chaste until injured by royal insolence, I swear and call you, oh ye gods, to witness, that I will prosecute to destruction, by sword, fire, and every possible means in my power, both Lucius Tarquinius the Proud, and his impious wife, together with their entire race, and never will suffer one of them, nor any other person whatsoever, to be king in Rome! Lay aside your grief, Collatinus; kiss this sacred knife, and swear as I have sworn; kiss it, Lucretius, and you, too, Valerius. The blood of Lucretia shall purge the palaces of Rome!"

Taking the body in their arms, they carried it into the Forum, followed by a large and curious crowd. Here Brutus told the revolting story, which was caught up and circulated by a thousand tongues through every part of Rome. Nothing was talked of but the enormities of the royal family; and the rage of the people, finally, rose so high, that they declared that Tarquinius and his sons should die; and they implored Brutus to lead them on against the bloody tyrants.

A little consultation among the leaders of the rebellion resulted in a recommendation to the people to appoint two annual magistrates, to be vested with the kingly power. An election was held without delay, and Brutus and Collatinus were unanimously chosen. Thus, in a very short time, the government of Rome was entirely changed.

While this revolution was in progress, Tarquinius was in his camp, at Ardea. Hearing what had happened, he set off, full speed, for Rome, but was peremptorily denied admission and warned to go away. Returning to his camp, he there met with a similar reception, and, to save his life, was forced to fly, in company with his sons, to Cære, a city of Etruria.

With a view to recover his power, Tarquin-

Expulsion of Tarquinius—The Sons of Brutus.

ius, some time after, sent friends to Rome, under pretence of asking the Roman government to restore the property which he had been compelled to leave behind him. These friends, with a view to overthrow the government, succeeded in securing the co-operation of a number of influential men, and among them the two sons of Brutus. The conspirators aimed to conduct every thing with the utmost secrecy, but their plans were discovered, one night, by a slave, and they were convicted of crime against the state.

Brutus, as chief magistrate, was obliged to sit upon the judgment-seat to which the conspirators, including his own sons, were brought for trial. One by one they were placed before him, and the testimony in their respective cases produced and weighed. With a firm voice he sentenced them all to scourging and to death, nor did he turn away his eyes when the heads of his two sons were placed beneath the fatal axe.

Enraged at the failure of his enterprise, Tarquinius now went throughout all the cities of Etruria, endeavoring to urge them to take up arms against the Roman people. The Veientians and the Tarquinians, in answer to his earnest entreaties, placed two powerful armies un-

der his command. Brutus and his colleague went forth to meet him, and, after a terrible conflict, succeeded once more in delivering their country; but Brutus lost his life upon the battle-field.

Tarquinius, though greatly discouraged by a second failure, carried his complaints to Lars Porsenna, king of Clusium. His arguments were not in vain. Porsenna declared that Rome should have a king, and that this king should be of the Etrurian race. Most active preparations were once more made for the overthrow of the Roman Republic; but the new troubles into which the nation was plunged, and the narrative of its contest with the famous Porsenna, belong more properly to the second part of this history.

PART I.

QUESTIONS.

I.—ROMULUS.

Page 13. What is said of the legends of Rome? For what has Italy always been celebrated?

14. How was it originally occupied? Mention some tribes of the Aborigines. What is said of Alba? What were Alba and Lavinium called?

15. From whom did Romulus and Remus descend? Who was their mother? What is related of their infancy? How did they act, on reaching manhood? What resolution did they then take?

16. What is related of their quarrel? What is said of the new city? How did Romulus increase his people? What order of nobles did he institute?

17. What steps did he take to procure wives for his people? Of what stratagem did he, finally, make use?

18. What were the results of this act? How were the Sabines pacified? What was the treaty made with them? What became of Tatius? What troubles did Romulus experience? How did he show his pride and ambition?

19. In what way did he arouse the indignation of the Senate against himself? What became of him? What followed his disappearance?

II.—NUMA POMPILIUS.

Page 25. What was the condition of Rome at the death of Romulus? What rendered his death more grievous? What difficulties were in the way of making a king?

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26. Who assumed the royal prerogative? How was the Senate composed? How did they administer the government? What was this interval called? Who was finally chosen king? What is said of Numa?

27. How did he gain the confidence of the people? What temple did he build? What is said of this temple?

28. What belief was entertained in regard to Numa? What was the religion of the Romans? What order of priests did Numa institute?

29. Why were they called *Salii*? What was their number? How did Numa preserve peace? What did he cultivate and teach among the people? How did they regard him? What division was made of the lands?

30. How was the country divided? How did Numa promote industry? How did he unite more thoroughly the people? Which of his works is here spoken of? At what age did he die?

31. How were the people affected by his death? What is said of his funeral?

III.—TULLUS HOSTILIUS.

Page 37. What happened soon after the death of Numa? Who was elected king? What was the first act of Tullus?

38. How did he provide for those who were destitute of lands? From what grew the principal events of his reign? What is said of the Alban king? Who succeeded him? How did Tullus proceed?

39. What did Mettius then do? What agreement did they make? Who were the champions selected to decide the destinies of Rome and Alba?

40. How did the combat begin? Relate what followed.

41. What did Horatius do on returning to Rome? What became of Mettius? What wars followed this event?

42. What calamity ensued? What is said of the last days of Tullus? How did his death occur?

IV.—ANCUS MARCIUS.

Page 45. For what was Ancus distinguished? To what was his elevation to the throne attributed? What evils had attended the reign of Tullus? How did Ancus begin his reign?

46. What reforms did he make? What difficulties had he with the Latins? How did he seek satisfaction? What was the conduct of the Latins? What was his first proceeding against them?

47. What cities did he conquer? What did the Latins now do? How did he, finally, dispose of them? How did he enlarge Rome.

48. What public improvements did he make? How did he restrain evil-doers? How did he testify his thanks to the gods? How long did he reign? What is said of his death?

49. What title was bestowed upon him?

V.—TARQUINIUS PRISCUS.

Page 55. Who was Tarquinius Priscus? What story is told concerning his advent to Rome?

56. What attentions did he receive? On being made king, how did he strengthen his position? What difficulties did he encounter? What was his first achievement? How did he commemorate it?

57. What was his success against his jealous neighbors? What did he do for the greater safety of the city? How did he wish to improve the army? Whom did he consult in this matter?

58. What story is related of Navius? How did Tarquinius now act? What nations did he prepare to attack? What success had he against the Sabines?

59. What is related of his war with the Tyrrhenians?

60. In what way did he now employ himself? What is said of his sewers, or *cloacæ*? What of the paved ways?

To whom did Tarquinius now commit the cares of government?

61. How did the sons of Ancus Marcius show their vexation? How did they accomplish the king's death? What did Tanaquil do upon the occasion? What appeal did she make to Servius?

62. What stratagem did they adopt? What was their success?

VI.—SERVIUS TULLIUS.

Page 67. What is said of the origin and youth of Servius Tullus? What course did he pursue after placing himself upon the throne?

68. In whose name did he assume the government? What were the feelings of the Senate? What means did Servius adopt to retain his power?

69. What did he do for insolvent debtors and those who had no lands? In what way did he appeal to the people?

70. What demand did they make? What was the result of the election? How did he dispose of the grandsons of Tarquinius? What is said of the wars of Servius? What of his public works?

71. How did he divide the citizens? What additions did he make to the city? How did Servius spend much of his time?

72. What difficulty did he experience with his son-in-law? What was the result of his remonstrance with him? How did the Senate act?

73. How did Tarquinius get possession of the throne? What did Servius then do? What treatment did he receive from Tarquinius?

74. How was his death accomplished? What was the conduct of his daughter? What name was given to the street in which this scene occurred?

VII.—TARQUINIUS SUPERBUS.

Page 79. How did Tarquinius Superbus receive his name? How did he begin his reign? What care did he take to preserve his life? Of what cruel acts was he guilty?

80. How did he treat the poor? Why were not the evils remedied? What foreign alliance did he contract? What is said of his military knowledge?

81. What wars did he carry on? What is said of the prodigies with which he was favored?

82. What circumstance led to his downfall? What is related of Brutus?

83. How were the people affected by the fate of Lucretia? What was the result of the rebellion? How did Tarquinius proceed, and how was he treated?

84. How did he try to recover his power? What is related of the conspiracy? How did Brutus act in this case? What further means did Tarquinius adopt to recover the kingdom?

85. What was the fate of Brutus? What is related of Lars Porsenna?



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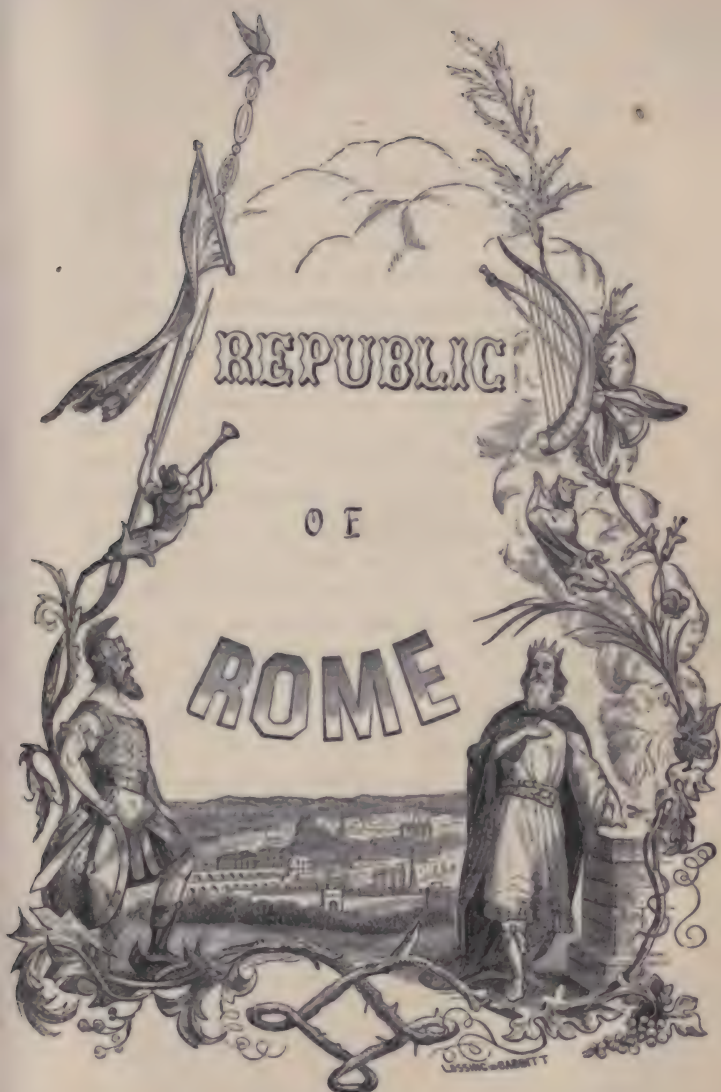
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REPUBLIC

OF

ROME





THE absorbing narratives which make up the history of the Republic of Rome, are rendered none the less instructive to the general reader, and certainly none the less essential to the student, by reason of the abundant acuteness evinced by Beaufort and Niebuhr in disproving the testimonies of Livy and Dionysius. Indeed, a very good knowledge of the narratives here collected is necessary, in order that either pleasure or profit may be derived from the writings of these modern historians. While much of this period of Roman history is undoubtedly fabulous, real characters begin to make their appearance, and the early struggles between Liberty and Despotism evince an origin antecedent to the fascinating writers of antiquity who have recorded them. They are always read and studied with the liveliest interest, and so, too, are those exhibitions of the love of authority, and thirst of military glory, which, taking the place of the stern Roman virtue, drained the plains of Italy of its noble inhabitants, and sent them to die in distant lands, while their ambitious leaders, making conquest after conquest, subdued Spain, Carthage, Greece, Egypt, Asia, and, at length, under Julius Cæsar, Rome itself.

Arrangement.

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THE WAR WITH PORSENNA.

FROM 507 TO 503 B. C.

THINGS related in the Stories of "The Kings of Rome"
—The consul Publius Valerius—Unjust Suspicions raised
against him—His Refutation of them—Anecdote of Hora-
tius Pulvillus—King Tarquinius appeals to Porsenna, king
of Clusium—Porsenna prepares to make War upon Rome—
He attacks Rome—Horatius Cocles—His Defence of the
Bridge across the Tiber—The Honor paid to him—Porsenna
besieges Rome—The Story of Caius Mucius—The Story of
Clœlia.



FEAT OF HORATIUS COCLES.

I.

THE WAR WITH PORSENNNA.

THE Roman Republic may be said to have commenced upon the day when Brutus and Collatinus were elected consuls. Tarquinius Superbus was at this time king of Rome; and at the very moment when the revolution took place, he and his immense army were encamped before the walls of Ardea, endeavoring to bring that strong city in subjection to Rome. To be completely stripped of his power at home, and to be shamefully and helplessly driven from the midst of his troops, was an event of which neither he nor his subjects had dreamed two days before its occurrence. Still it is not a matter which should occasion surprise, for Tarquinius was a detested tyrant, whom the people, under a resolute leader, were at any moment ready to crush.

This leader was Brutus; and the Roman

Things related in the Stories of the Kings of Rome.

people vested him and his colleague, Collatinus, with the government of the city. The army was withdrawn from the walls of Ardea. Joy took the place of the murmuring and discontent which had prevailed throughout the city. The excellent laws which had been established by King Servius, and abolished by Tarquinius, were now restored. The people again exercised the rights of freemen; and peace and prosperity seemed to be the destiny of Rome.

But Tarquinius was still alive. The city of Cumæ had opened its gates to receive him; and here, mortified and enraged, he spent his time in devising means for the recovery of his throne. First he resorted to stratagem; but he accomplished nothing except the sacrifice of the sons of Brutus and the destruction of all the friends whom he still possessed in Rome. Then he appealed to the Veientians and Tarquinians to aid him in his design. Here again he failed, himself and allies being driven in terror from the battle-field, while the Roman army, laden with spoils, went home in triumph.

Not long before this last-mentioned event, Collatinus, the colleague of Brutus, had been obliged to resign the consulship and leave Rome, simply because he bore the hated name

The consul Publius Valerius.

of Lucius Tarquinius. Publius Valerius was appointed in his stead. Now Brutus was gone too, having been the first to shed his blood in the cause of the Republic. All these things have been related in the stories of THE KINGS OF ROME.

The loss of Brutus was a grievous thing for the Roman people. He had done more than any other man for the accomplishment of their freedom. He was, in fact, regarded as their deliverer. He had caused his own sons to be slain because they had conspired against the State, and in him therefore they could place the utmost confidence. His death filled them with apprehensions; and they straightway imagined themselves surrounded with snares, and destined to become the prey to a tyranny more fearful than that from which they had just escaped. Even the consul Publius became an object of jealousy and suspicion, because he did not immediately cause the vacancy occasioned by the death of Brutus to be filled. It was noised about that he wished to rule alone, in order that he might more easily make himself king of Rome. "Why does he choose Mount Velia for his residence?" asked one. "He has grown proud and wishes to place himself above the common people," was the

The consul Publius Valerius.

reply of some. "He desires to be king, and means to build an impregnable fortress," said others.

Though these remarks and suspicions were not accompanied by threats, or violent demonstrations, yet they had great effect upon the consul Publius. He heard them indeed with indignation, for it was far from his intention to usurp authority greater than he already possessed. Still he resolved to dispel the fears entertained concerning him, and therefore issued a proclamation for the people to meet him in a public assembly. When they were all convened, he went into their midst, and ordering the fasces to be lowered, mounted the tribunal to speak to them. This proceeding was highly grateful to the people, for by lowering the fasces he acknowledged their sovereignty. "Romans," said he, "how excellent was the fortune of my colleague, who, after having accomplished the deliverance of his country, and after having been raised to the highest post of honor, fell dying in defence of the republic! When his glory was in its perfection he departed; before the glance of suspicion had been directed towards him, before the tongue of jealousy had wounded him. But I, surviving the glory which I have won, have

The consul Publius Valerius.

at last become the object of calumny, and, from the character of deliverer of my country, I am sunk to the level of those who would have betrayed it. Will no degree of merit, then, ever gain your confidence, so far as to be secure from the attacks of suspicion? Could I have the least apprehension that I, the bitterest enemy to kings, should undergo the charge of aiming at kingly power? Supposing that I dwelt in the very citadel, and in the capitol, could I believe that I was an object of terror to my countrymen? Does my reputation among you depend on so mere a trifle? Is my title to your confidence so slightly founded that it is more to be considered where I am, than what I am? Citizens, the house of Publius Valerius shall be no obstruction to your freedom: the Velian Mount shall be secure to you. I will not only bring down my house to the plain, but will fix it under the hill, that your dwellings may overlook that of your suspected countryman. Let those build on the Velian Mount to whom you can better intrust your liberty than to Publius Valerius."

These few words were sufficient to convince the people that their suspicions were unfounded. They served also to remind them that Valerius was the coadjutor of Brutus and Collati-

The consul Publius Valerius.

nus in expelling the tyrant who had so long oppressed them. Shame therefore took possession of them, and they separated for their respective homes, leaving Valerius to enjoy the satisfaction of having triumphed over their suspicions.

Faithful to his promise, he immediately caused the workmen who were engaged upon his palace to remove the stones and timbers from the top of the mount to the vale below. Here he erected a modest mansion, and laying aside every thing which was calculated to excite envy or jealousy, applied himself to the administration of his office. The excellent laws which he proposed, and his manifest devotion to the cause of the people, soon secured the confidence of his fellow-citizens; and he even became so popular that the surname of *Publicola* was bestowed upon him.

In a short time *Spurius Lucretius* was elected consul in the place of *Brutus*; but being far advanced in years, he died in a few days after his election. *Marcus Horatius Pulvillus* was placed in his stead. Of him nothing remarkable is related, except that on one occasion he showed a good deal of self-possession. It seems that the temple of *Jupiter*, though some time completed, had never been dedicated. The

honor of performing the ceremonies on such an occasion being very considerable, the two consuls, Publius and Horatius, cast lots for the office. The lot fell to Horatius. This gave great displeasure to the friends of Publius, who endeavored in every way to delay and prevent the ceremonies. Their efforts were however useless. The day was appointed, and all the preparations for the occasion properly made. A great multitude assembled around the temple, and Horatius began by performing the sacrifices and other preliminaries. Having finished these, he laid hold of the door-posts, while all present placed themselves in a most reverential posture to listen to his pronunciation of the solemn prayer of consecration. Just as he had raised his eyes and was about calling upon the name of Jupiter, the brother of Publius, who had watched the opportunity, rushed suddenly before him, and exclaimed in an excited manner: "Horatius, your son has just died." Horatius, lowering his eyes and looking for a moment at the messenger, calmly replied, "Let him then be buried." He then proceeded with his prayer, completed the dedication, and caused his name to be placed upon the front of the temple.

For a brief period, the affairs of the Roman

King Tarquinius appeals to Lars Porsenna.

Republic seemed prosperous enough. Abroad their arms had been triumphant under the direction of the consuls; at home the resolution of the people to maintain republican principles had intimidated the ambitious, and forced the proud Patricians to show a degree of kindness and justice which they had never before exhibited. The Senate carried their generosity so far as to tax themselves much more than the other citizens, and even took pains to furnish provisions to the poorer classes at a much lower price than they had been accustomed to pay. But in all this they were actuated by fears for their own safety; for enemies to the Republic were now springing up on every hand, and it behooved those who had every thing at stake to exercise prudence, and even to make some sacrifices. King Tarquinius, though constantly baffled in his undertakings, was still determined to recover, if possible, his throne. In connection with the defeated Veientians and Tarquinians, he made a strong appeal to Lars Porsenna, the powerful king of Clusium. He laid before him his own wrongs; spoke of the indignities which, through him, had been offered to kings, and urged Porsenna to revenge the common cause of royalty.

Porsenna prepares to make War upon Rome.

Porsenna, willing to add to the glory which he had already acquired, readily took up the quarrel of Tarquinius, and forthwith made the most active preparations to march a powerful army against Rome. He knew full well that it was no ordinary war in which he would have to engage. The numerous and brilliant victories achieved by Roman arms were well known to him; and he did not forget, moreover, that in defence of their liberty, they would exhibit a degree of valor which a contest for dominion or spoils would not call forth.

The preparations of Porsenna were therefore made with the utmost care. His own city of Clusium furnished an army sufficient to cope with an ordinary foe; but he was not satisfied with this. Messengers were dispatched to all the cities of Etruria, with invitations to join him in crushing the common enemy of Italy. The Latin cities, too, were urged to furnish all the aid which they could send, and, from all directions, troops flocked daily around his standard.

Intelligence of these vigorous proceedings was not long in reaching Rome. The Senate received it with terror; and the people, despairing of being able to resist such a host of enemies, were almost ready to yield the city

Porsenna attacks Rome.

without a blow. The news was carried, too, to the seaport of Ostia and spread among the shepherds and husbandmen all around the city, and so great was the fear that took possession of those who heard it, that a general flight took place among them. The walls of Rome seemed to afford the only safeguard against their innumerable foes. Thither they fled in multitudes: the aged and the young. Thither they drove their flocks of sheep and goats, their horses and mules and cattle; and thither, from every farm-house and hamlet, went long trains of wagons loaded with grain and wine and household goods, so that every gate of Rome was fairly choked with those who sought refuge from the invading foe.

Nor were the apprehensions of these fugitives without foundation; for scarcely had they found security within the walls, than, looking behind them, they beheld the smoke and flames of their abandoned dwellings, and knew, by the clouds of dust that filled the sky, that their foes were pushing forward, resolved upon the total destruction of their State.

Onward they came, trampling down and covering every field and vineyard within sight of Rome, and speedily reaching the high wall that surrounded the Janiculum, boldly and vig-

orously plied their batteries against its ponderous stonework.

It was a dreadful moment for the Roman people; and the Senate, sick at heart, and certain that their power was at an end, knew not what to do. They met; but it seemed rather for the purpose of bearing each other company in the destruction which they hourly awaited. No one had any plan of defence to propose; and all defence indeed seemed useless, for the walls were already tottering beneath the blows of hostile engines; and the shouts of triumph, wafted over the heights of the Janiculum and across the intervening Tiber, penetrated into the very heart of the citadel.

“Senators,” shouted the consul Valerius, as he rushed into the midst of the terrified assembly; “why stand ye here idle and craven-hearted? Already the walls of the Janiculum are falling before the batteries of Porsenna! Once upon its heights, they have only to cross the Sublician bridge and Rome will be forever lost! Hasten, Senators! Let us meet them at the River-gate, and be the first to block its passage by our mangled bodies!”

Forth went Valerius, and forth, too, went the Roman Senate with all speed towards the bridge which, crossing the Tiber, united the

Horatius Cocles.

Janiculum to the more densely inhabited portions of the city. Here they arrived just as the enemy began, one by one, to leap through the breaches made in the wall on the opposite side of the river. "The bridge must be broken down," shouted Valerius; "there is no other hope for Rome! Bring axes, my brave Horatius," he continued, addressing the captain of the gate,—*"bring axes; hew down the bridge."*

"Thou art right, Valerius," replied Horatius Cocles; "the bridge must be hewn down, but let this be thy task, while I, with two others, cross to the further side and defend the passage till your work is done. Who dare follow me?" shouted Cocles. "If none, then I will meet alone the hosts of Porsenna." Saying which he sprang, sword in hand, upon the bridge, and ran towards the other end, which the enemy were now approaching. Behind ran also two brave Romans who had been inspired by his words; and no sooner had the three reached the middle of the bridge than the consuls, the senators, and the people all began with axes and bars to tear it down.

"Vile slaves," shouted Cocles to the foremost of the approaching host, "why do you not seek to secure your own liberty rather than to wrest it from those who have had the courage

Cocles' Defence of the Bridge across the Tiber.

to win it? By the eternal gods, ye shall not pass this bridge until I have covered it with dead bodies!"

At these words a loud peal of laughter rose from the troops, who, now, leaping by thousands through the broken walls, came dashing towards the river. The next moment a cloud of arrows showered down upon Cocles and his brave companions; but they fell harmless upon the bucklers and heavy armor which they wore. Then the stoutest and bravest warriors from the ranks of the enemy, eager for glory and confident of success, ran with spears and axes to win the narrow pass; but Cocles and his companions stood like rocks before them, and, one by one, the greatest champions of Veii, of Tarquinii, and of Clusium, fell lifeless at their feet.

In the mean time, the Romans on the other side of the river, working vigorously with their axes, cut away, one after another, the timbers which supported the bridge. The last prop was all that now remained; Valerius, seeing that the structure would soon fall, called out, "Come back, Horatius Cocles; come back, brave Romans; the bridge is yet strong enough to hold you; come back, before it is too late." The companions of Cocles at once obeyed the

Cocles' Defence of the Bridge across the Tiber.

summons, but that fierce Roman, being engaged in a desperate conflict with a stalworth Veientian, paid no attention to the call. Again Valerius shouted to him, but the words had hardly escaped his lips, when the bridge fell, with a mighty crash, into the waters of the yellow Tiber.

A scream of rage now burst forth from the disappointed hosts of Porsenna, and a thousand arrows were directed against the body of the brave Cocles. Protecting himself by his broad buckler, and succeeding, too, in cleaving to the earth the enemy with whom he was engaged, he sprang into the Tiber. "Holy father Tiberius, I beseech thee to receive these arms, and this thy soldier, into thy propitious stream," said the courageous man, as he leaped from the banks of the river.

Down went Cocles loaded with his heavy armor, and the deep waters closed above him. His friends on the one side and his foes on the other, all gazed in solemn silence at the spot in which he sank. His valor and his intrepidity had excited the admiration of his enemies as well as of his friends, and sorrow for the possible loss of so brave a man seemed to pervade every breast. While they were still gazing upon the ruffled stream, a black helmet rose above the

surface, and presently the iron hands of Cocles were seen battling against the rapid tide. A shout of joy now burst from the Roman ranks, and even Porsenna himself, unable to conceal his admiration, cried out, "May the gods protect yon valiant man and bear him safe to shore!"

Bravely did the weary and wounded Cocles struggle against the stream; and gallantly, too, did he force a passage through its swift current, despite the iron greaves and cumbrous mail in which his body was encased. A hundred Romans dashed into the water to give him aid, but the vigorous stroke of his arm, and the flood lifted by his broad shoulders forbade approach; so onward he went alone, even to the water's edge.

As he walked, dripping, up the river bank, the consuls, the senators, and the people gathered around him, and fairly carried him in their arms with shouts of joy. It was a glorious day for Cocles. They crowned him with the crowns of victory; they gave him the choicest lands without the walls; they made him choose the sightliest residence in Rome; during the siege which followed, they brought him corn and wine, and daily loaded his table and his storehouse with every thing that the

Porsenna besieges Rome.

market produced; and besides all this, they commemorated his bold achievement by a brazen statue which they erected in the Comitium.

Notwithstanding the admiration which Porsenna felt for his foes, he was still determined to accomplish their destruction. Failing in his meditated attack upon the city, he resolved to besiege it, and force the inhabitants to yield, if possible, by destroying the fields and hamlets which lay around it, and by plundering and slaying all who unfortunately fell in his way. The Romans did not quietly submit to all this. Whenever an opportunity occurred, they sent bands of soldiers privately from the city, who would frequently cut off hundreds of their enemies, with very little injury to themselves. Stratagems of every kind were resorted to by them, and Porsenna, finding upon one occasion that he had lost more than five thousand of his best troops, resolved to surround the city with his vast army, and, by cutting off all supplies of provisions, finally starve the people into subjection.

It was not long before the citizens began to suffer extremely from this blockade. They had, fortunately, an unusual quantity of food, but every day it was diminishing with great rapidity, and starvation or slavery seemed in-

evitable. In this strait, Rome presented another evidence of the boldness and patriotism of her citizens.

Three hundred young men of illustrious birth, determining that they would rather die than see Rome subjected to a foreign yoke, bound themselves by the most solemn oaths that they would free themselves from Porsenna or suffer death in the attempt. In accordance with a preconcerted plan, one of them, named Caius Mucius, appeared one day before the Senate and demanded permission to leave the city, saying at the same time that he meditated something of great importance to the commonwealth, and that he was willing to risk his life in the undertaking. Permission was granted, and he found the means of leaving the city unobserved by the enemy.

Being well acquainted with their language, he had no difficulty in mingling with the soldiers and passing himself off as one of their number. Wandering about the camp, he finally discovered the king's tent; and observing that many persons were passing in and out, he ventured to intrude upon the royal presence. Looking about for the king, his attention was arrested by two persons of very dignified appearance, and both arrayed in robes of equal

The Story of Caius Mucius.

splendor. One of them sat motionless and apparently deep in meditation; the other, with large heaps of gold before him, was constantly occupied in giving and receiving messages, and in bestowing portions of his gold upon one and another who went in and out before him.

"This busy individual is certainly the king," thought Mucius. He dared not, however, ask, lest his ignorance should betray him. Firm in his resolution, he therefore stole slowly and carelessly towards him, and having arrived within a distance suitable for his purpose, drew forth a knife which he had concealed within his dress, and plunged it into the heart of his victim.

A cry of horror rose on all sides, and Mucius, notwithstanding his desperate efforts to escape, was speedily arrested. He had killed the king's secretary instead of the king, and those who held him, dragged him at once before the monarch to receive the sentence due to his crime. Trembling with rage, Porsenna demanded his reason for such monstrous conduct. Without the least manifestation of fear, he replied in a firm voice: "I am a Roman. My name is Caius Mucius. I came here with a determination to kill the enemy of my country. Fortune, Porsenna, hath permitted thee

Effect of the Conspiracy upon Porsenna.

to escape my sword ; but I shall die contented, for the moment will most certainly arrive when a more lucky arm than mine will reach thee. Prepare thyself, O king ! for henceforth a knife is ever pointed at thy heart. Rome does not seek the blood of thy soldiers, but thine alone, Porsenna !”

Horried at such a dreadful announcement, the king at once called his guards about him, and ordering a fire to be kindled, commanded Mucius to reveal the plot in which he was engaged, under penalty of being burned to death. But Mucius advanced to the burning pile, and holding his right arm in the flame, exclaimed, “See how he despises the body, who has immortal glory in view !” Without drawing back his arm, or even moving a muscle, he suffered his hand to become fairly roasted in the fire.

Porsenna, regarding for a few moments this extraordinary display of fortitude, sprang from the midst of his guards, seized Mucius and thrust him away from the fire. “Go home, young man,” he exclaimed ; “I cannot destroy such bravery, even though it be used against myself. Take the liberty which I give you, and depart.”

Mucius, appearing to be moved more by the generosity of Porsenna than by the flames kin-

Departure of Mucius.

dled for his destruction, thus addressed the monarch: I desire, O king! to show you that kindness is more powerful with the brave than threats; and since you are disposed to honor courage, be it known to you, that three hundred of the principal youths of Rome have bound themselves by an oath to attack you, as I have done; my lot happened to be first; the others will be with you, each in his turn, according as the lot shall set him foremost, until fortune shall afford an opportunity of succeeding against you."

Having uttered these words, he departed, leaving Porsenna most deeply affected by the danger to which he now saw himself daily exposed. One of the three hundred assassins had already been within his tent; the knives of the others were doubtless ready to draw his blood; and if in the hands of such daring men as Mucius, how small was his prospect of life. For some time Porsenna sat upon the tribunal, silent and meditative. Having carefully reflected upon his condition, and the chances of conquering a people who had resolved to resort to the most desperate measures in self-defence, he concluded that it would be the part of wisdom to propose terms of accommodation to the Romans.

His resolution being taken, he at once sent ambassadors to the city with offers of peace, on condition that Tarquinius should be acknowledged king of Rome. This the Romans peremptorily refused; and the ambassadors, being instructed not to insist upon these terms, yielded, proposing at the same time to withdraw their army, on condition that the Romans should give up the lands which they had, some time before, taken from the Veientians; and that they should give hostages for the fulfilment of the treaty. The Romans having agreed to this, Porsenna removed his troops from the Janiculum and departed to his own country.

It is said that a young woman named Clœlia, one of the hostages, watching a favorable opportunity, escaped as they were about departing, with several of her companions, and swam across the Tiber, through a shower of darts discharged at them by the enemy. Arriving on the opposite shore, she with the others repaired to their respective homes; but Porsenna, hearing of the affair, was very angry, and sent ambassadors to Rome demanding the restoration of Clœlia. No sooner, however, had the ambassadors gone, than Porsenna expressed the greatest admiration of the conduct of Clœlia,

and declared that if she was restored he would send her back to Rome.

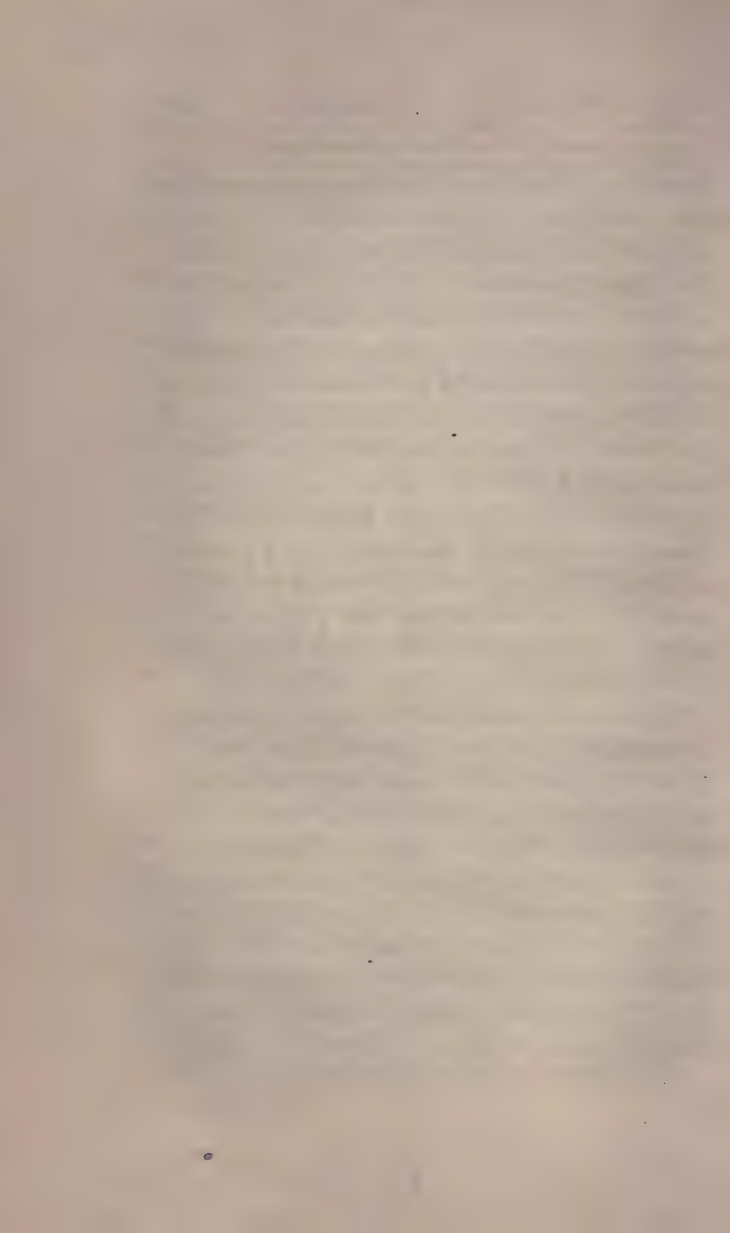
Faithful to the terms of their treaty, the Romans caused Clœlia to be sent back to the camp of the Etrurians. Porsenna not only complimented her upon her courageous conduct, but told her that she might return to the city and take with her half of the hostages. Granting her the privilege of choosing among them, it is said that she took the youngest, as she considered these most liable to injury from the enemy.

Peace being again restored, the Romans did not forget to reward Mucius for his heroic conduct. In addition to the honor which was paid to him, the Senate bestowed upon him a large tract near the river Tiber, called afterwards the Mucian meadows; and Mucius received the name of Scævola, or the left-handed, because his right hand was destroyed by the flames in which he held it. Nor did the conduct of Clœlia go unnoticed. Her intrepidity was commemorated by an equestrian statue erected at the head of the Sacred street.

Porsenna, unwilling to return home without the glory of a single victory, sent a portion of his forces to lay siege to Aricia, a city of Latium. It proved, however, an unfortunate un-

dertaking ; for although the attack was entirely unexpected, the Aricians contrived to defend their city until sufficient aid was received from the Latin States and from Cumæ, when they ventured an engagement in the field. The success of the Etrurians seemed at first beyond a doubt ; but an artful movement on the part of the cohorts of Cumæ decided the day, and the forces of Porsenna were completely beaten and scattered over the plains. A great many of them fled to Rome for protection. Here they were so kindly received, that Porsenna, in token of his gratitude, gave back to the Romans the lands which they had yielded agreeably to the treaty that had been lately made between them.

This circumstance was the cause of so strong a friendship between Porsenna and the Romans, that Tarquinius, despairing of ever being able to promote his own interests through their quarrels, went from Clusium to Tusculum, in hopes of procuring the aid of Octavius Mamilius, the renowned chief of the Latin nation. His application in this quarter was not in vain. Mamilius went secretly to work among the cities of Latium, and thirty of them joined in a league against the State of Rome.



THE WAR WITH THE LATINS.

FROM 503 TO 493 B. C

INCREASE of the Population of Rome—Public Lands—Poverty—Debts—Slaves—Octavius Manlius makes War—Difficulty of raising Troops—Abolishment of Debts—Opposition of Appius Claudius—Embarrassment of the Senate—Establishment of the Dictatorship—Powers of the Dictator—Noble Conduct of Lartius and Clælius—Lartius created Dictator—Preparations for War—Aulus Postumius—Battle of the Lake of Regillus—Result of the Battle—Castor and Pollux—Peace concluded with the Latins—Death of Tarquinius.

II.

THE WAR WITH THE LATINS.

BEFORE the Latins had completed their preparations for war, the Sabines, thinking that Rome had been enfeebled and humiliated by its late misfortune, began to plunder and annoy the inhabitants. Marcus Valerius and Publius Postumius, who were consuls at this time, immediately raised a sufficient army, and, marching into their country, chastised them severely, and compelled them to yield a large portion of their territories. The Sabines were not, however, completely subdued; and the Romans were constantly under the necessity of repelling their attacks or punishing their obstinacy. Nor were these the only enemies of Rome. The Volsci and Hernicians, sometimes in connection and sometimes separately, made attacks upon it, but generally with very little success.

These cruel and continued attacks upon the

young and struggling Republic were not without opposition even among the people who carried them on. A large number of the Sabines protested against the conduct of their countrymen, and used every argument to prevent them from committing further injuries. Among these, was one Attus Clausus, a man of great wealth and powerful connections. This man, having made repeated but ineffectual efforts to put an end to the aggressions of his people, and finally becoming discouraged and disgusted, resolved to abandon his native country and move with all his household and riches to Rome. A great many others followed his example, and it is said that Clausus went to Rome accompanied by no less than five thousand persons.

This was a very valuable accession to the Roman power, and Clausus met, of course, with a favorable reception. He was classed among the patricians, enrolled in the Senate, and designated by the more Roman name of Appius Claudius. The rights of citizenship were given to those who attended him, and lands upon the river Anio assigned for their support. Thus was formed the nucleus of what afterwards became the Claudian tribe. Appius was a man of stern and harsh character, loved by the pa-

tricians, dreaded by the plebeians, and exerting, as we shall presently see, a powerful influence in Rome.

It was not until six or seven years after the establishment of peace between Porsenna and the Romans, that Octavius Mamilius found himself prepared to undertake the destruction of the Roman Republic. When the news of his intended invasion reached Rome, the Consuls and Senate were filled with the utmost consternation, for, in addition to the troubles which threatened them abroad, the utmost disaffection existed at home. The common people, by reason of incessant wars and by the covetousness of the patricians, found themselves reduced to the most wretched poverty. Under the dominion of the kings they had always received a share of the booty, together with a portion of the lands taken from their enemies in war, the remainder being reserved to pay the expenses of the State; but the patricians, regarding themselves as the sovereigns of the Republic, appropriated to their own use the lands which were obtained by battle, or caused them to be sold in such a manner as to place all the profit in their own coffers.

Nor did they confine themselves to these usurpations only. It happened frequently that

Debts—Slaves—Octavius Mamilius makes War.

the crops were insufficient by reason of an unfavorable season, or because of the devastations of an enemy. Whenever this was the case, these patricians, finding means to get possession of all, compelled the plebeians to have recourse to them for the necessaries of life. Those who wished food were obliged to borrow money, and this was lent to them only at exorbitant usury. Many thus incurred debts which they were utterly unable to pay; and the law in those days permitted the creditor to take the debtor, upon default of payment, to his own house, and retain him as his slave. Stripes and torments were likewise allowed, so that the conduct of the patricians rendered the sufferings of the people quite intolerable.

It was while the complaints of the plebeians were rising most loudly to the ears of the Senate, that the news came that Octavius Mamilius, with the combined armies of thirty Latin cities, was preparing to march against Rome. Already deputies from these people were within the walls, uttering the most bitter complaints, and declaring, for the sake of some excuse, that the Romans had violated their treaties and forfeited the respect and even the mercy of their neighbors. Hoping to derive great advantage from the embarrassing condition of the Senate,

Difficulty of raising Troops.

they demanded prompt satisfaction, and used violent threats in case of a refusal.

A speedy and dreadful war seemed inevitable, and the Roman Senate commenced the preparations usual upon such occasions. If their encouragement in beginning was small, it almost changed into despair as they proceeded. The difficulty of raising troops was exceedingly great. The people, disheartened by poverty, were not only averse to supporting a government which neither aided nor protected them, but they even declared that they would not take up arms, that they would leave the city, and compel those who appropriated to themselves the wealth, to fight for its possession. Various means were adopted to conciliate the disaffected, but they utterly refused to listen to the wishes of the patricians, unless the Senate would pass an ordinance whereby those burdened with debts might be relieved.

Failing in all their efforts to restore quiet among the plebeians, the Senate resolved to assemble and deliberate upon the demands of the rebellious. A difference of opinion was at once manifest among those composing this august body. Some, naturally inclined to mildness and not so rich as others, were favorable to making a law which should relieve the poor of

their debts; while others declaimed violently against it, as unwise and at variance with honor and justice. "I am of opinion," said Marcus Valerius, a much respected senator, "that by abolishing these debts we shall purchase the good-will of the citizens at a small price, and that the great gain which private individuals, as well as the public, may thence derive, will amply compensate for so small a loss. Such a measure would not be without precedent, for we all know that the Republic of Athens, on a similar occasion, at the instance of Solon, delivered its poor from the debts which embarrassed them. How glorious will it be for us to relieve those citizens who have rendered such great service to the Republic, who have shown so much courage in delivering their country from the cruelty of tyrants, who have always been ready to sacrifice themselves for the general good! Can we ask them to expose their lives, while we deny them the most trifling assistance? Is not their poverty more worthy of compassion than of hatred? Is not, in fact, this poverty more reproachful to us than to them?"

Having spoken in this manner for some time, Valerius at length sat down amid the applauses of a large number of the senators. But the

cause of the plebeians, which seemed to flourish for a season, speedily lost ground when Appius Claudius rose to speak. "The Senate has no right," said he, "to refuse the assistance of laws to those creditors who wish to use severity towards their debtors. A law abolishing private debts cannot be made without ruining the public faith; and those in whose favor it is demanded would be the first to suffer. The discontent of the great is not less to be feared than the murmurings of the people. Besides, many of those who are now suffering from poverty have ruined themselves by debauchery; and Rome would be happy if they should quit it forever. As to the unfortunate, it is but just to relieve them; but let it be the privilege of the creditors to distinguish between the worthy and the unworthy. The Republic has no right to give what does not belong to it; and if any among the people are deserving of an exemption from their debts, let those who have claims upon them be, at least, permitted to enjoy their gratitude. As to the sedition, the way to excite it, is to fear it. The least show of authority will inspire terror, and one or two examples of severity will restrain the rebellious and compel them to return to their duty."

With such words he put to silence the sup-

porters of Valerius, and a long discussion having ensued, the Senate finally adjourned, resolving that they would make no decision in the matter until after the termination of the war. The people, in return, testified their disapprobation of this proceeding by renewing their complaints in more bitter terms, and showing in a more decided manner their determination to try their strength with that of the patricians.

The situation of the Senate became, day by day, more embarrassing. Their efforts to raise an army were not only fruitless, but ridiculous; and in the mean time rumors were constantly reaching Rome that the powerful forces of the Latins would soon be within their territory. Consternation and despair were painted on the faces of every patrician. The Senate not having sufficient power to enforce obedience to its will, feared that the punishment of the refractory would result in a civil war, more to be dreaded than the hatred of foreign enemies. But all that the Senate lacked in physical strength was made up in superior cunning; and, finding that they must yield, they determined that in doing it they would place the people under a yoke worse than that from which they hoped to escape. Pretending, there-

fore, to yield their authority, they resolved to introduce into the Republic a magistrate, whose power should be monarchical, and superior to all law, but of short duration. The substance of the decree which they made on this occasion was: "That Lartius and Clælius, who were consuls at this time, together with all others in public authority, should lay aside their power; that there should be but one magistrate; that he should be selected by the Senate and confirmed by the voice of the people, and that his power should not continue longer than six months." The people, not foreseeing the consequences of this decree, received it as a token of submission on the part of the Senate, and readily agreed to be governed by the newly proposed magistrate.

The destiny of Rome, by the unanimous consent of the patricians and the people, was thus to be placed in the hands of a single man; a man whose voice was to be superior to that of consul, king, or senate. The laws of custom, by which they had been so long bound, together with those which they had written upon wood and brass, were to stand or fall as he alone might choose; all the officers of State, from the lowest to the highest rank, were to be at his disposal; the treasures of the Republic

Checks upon his Conduct.

were to be used as he might deem proper; peace and war were to be at his option; the armies were to march wherever he might order, and the people were to do his bidding, in whatever station he might choose to place them.

The name of Dictator was given to this newly created magistrate, and such was doubtless the extraordinary powers originally conferred upon him, although at a subsequent period, when circumstances demanded the exercise of this office, these powers were somewhat diminished. In later times the dictator could not use the public money without the authority of the Senate or the consent of the people. Neither could he leave Italy; nor was he permitted to ride on horseback without the permission of the people; and, what was a still greater check upon his conduct, he might be called to an account for his actions after the expiration of his term of office.

It was important that the man selected for this office should possess extraordinary abilities. He should be skilful in the affairs of government, experienced in the art of war; he should be a man of wisdom and resolution, and especially should he be possessed of the greatest moderation.

The consuls Titius Lartius and Lucius Clælius were both excellent men, and worthy of being intrusted with the powers of Dictator ; but it was believed that Lartius possessed qualifications superior to those of his colleague. The Senate, willing that either of them should be appointed to the office, proposed that they should decide the matter between themselves. Lartius at once recommended Clælius as more deserving than himself, and Clælius insisted that Lartius possessed abilities superior to his own ; nor would either of them acknowledge that he merited to be preferred to the other. Such noble conduct could not fail to win universal admiration ; and the Senate and people became more anxious that one of them should be persuaded to assume the title of Dictator. The people especially became eager in their demands, professing entire willingness to submit to the direction of men for whom the glory and advantages of absolute power possessed so little charm.

The Senate having waited a whole day, in the vain hope that one or the other of the two consuls would permit himself to be named for the new office, finally adjourned. In the evening, many of the relatives of Clælius and Lartius, together with several of the most eminent

Lartius made Dictator—His Public Appearance.

senators, repaired to the house of Lartius, and besought him in the most earnest terms that he would sacrifice his generous feelings to the public good. Overcome at length by their continued remonstrances, he consented that his colleague should name him as Dictator.

Having accepted this new office, Lartius resolved to make such an impression on the people as was intended by its creation. To this end, he made his appearance before them with the utmost pomp. The kings had always been preceded by twelve lictors, each carrying in his hand an axe. These axes had been removed by the consul Valerius; but Lartius not only caused the axes to be restored, but he even doubled the number of the lictors, in token of a power superior to that of kings. The effect was precisely such as could be desired. A magistrate, such as the Dictator presented himself, was little in accordance with the expectations of the people. They were not only astonished but frightened at his appearance, having never before reflected upon the immense power with which he was clothed. The magnificence of his cortege, the proud and commanding air which he assumed, reminded them of the kings before whom they had lately trembled; and the obedience which they had promised to the new

ruler, was now yielded from the very awe with which he inspired them.

After having made a suitable impression upon the minds even of the most turbulent, he caused all the citizens to be enrolled with the utmost speed. The number of those above the age of sixteen years, was found to be a hundred and fifty thousand and seven hundred. Having separated the old men from those who were able to bear arms, he formed the latter into four bodies of infantry and cavalry. The first, composed of the bravest and most experienced troops, he reserved for himself, and, permitting Clælius, his former colleague, to choose from the others, he gave the third to Spurius Cassius his general of cavalry, and the last to Spurius Lartius his brother.

Having completed his arrangements, Lartius, leaving one body of troops to protect the city, posted the other three at those places where he thought they would be most likely to encounter the enemy. But he was anxious, if possible, to secure peace without bloodshed; and believing that he might succeed in negotiating with the Latins, he sent prudent men to the principal chiefs of this nation, and finally succeeded in effecting a truce for one year.

Although a war with the Latins was inevita-

Preparations made for War.

ble, still its postponement for so long a time was gratifying both to the people and to the Senate. Lartius, believing that the office of Dictator was no longer necessary for the safety of Rome, returned with his army, and resigning his authority, named Sempronius Atratinus and Marcus Minucius as consuls for the remainder of the year.

Nothing now was thought of but the preparations necessary for the deadly struggle which must take place between Rome and the Latin nation. In order that civil discord might be prevented, the Senate issued a decree forbidding creditors to disturb their debtors until after the war. They also decreed that any Latin women who had married and settled in Rome should be permitted to go, with their daughters, to the home of their ancestors if they chose; they also invited those Roman women, who had married and gone into the cities of the Latins, to return with their daughters to Rome, for none could tell how dreadful would be the war which was shortly to begin. All the Latin women, it is said, but two remained in Rome with their husbands; while all the Roman women, loving Rome more than their husbands, took their young daughters, and came back to the homes of their fathers.

Aulus Postumius created Dictator.

In the mean time, another election for consuls had taken place, and Aulus Postumius and Titus Virginius were elevated to this office. But it was thought that this war between the Latins and the Romans would result in the destruction of one or the other nation; and at such a critical time, it was believed that the administration of government should be again placed in the hands of one person. The two consuls were therefore called upon to name a Dictator, and the consul Virginius named his colleague, Aulus Postumius, for this important office. This was only three days before the great battle of the Lake of Regillus, one of the most terrible conflicts in which Rome had ever been engaged.

As soon as every thing was in readiness, Aulus put himself at the head of his troops and marched forth boldly to meet the enemy. He took his course in the direction of Præneste, a city about twenty-five miles eastward from Rome. Arriving near the Lake of Regillus, which was not very far from Præneste, he perceived the immense army of Octavius Mamilius advancing towards him. His own army was by no means small, it being composed of twenty-four thousand infantry and three thousand horse; but the Latins far outnumbered

him, they being three thousand horse and forty thousand infantry.

Approaching each other, they immediately formed in battle array. Sextus Tarquinius appeared at the left wing of the Latins; Octavius Mamilius at the right; while Titus, the other son of Tarquinius, occupied the centre, at the head of the exiles, and of those who had preferred the party of the Tarquins to that of their country. The cavalry was also divided into three bodies, one in each wing, and one in the centre. Conspicuous, too, among the leaders was old King Tarquinius, though his head was now white with the frost of nearly ninety winters.

The Roman army, small when compared with that of the Latins, drew up boldly to the contest. Titus Æbutius, general of the cavalry, was stationed upon the left; the consul Virginius on the right; and the Dictator Aulus commanded the front of the battle. Though the Romans perceived at a glance that their force was unequal to that of their enemies, yet they were nowise daunted, but seemed rather to be endowed with twofold strength when they found that their former tyrant and his hateful sons were prominent among the leaders of their foes. The knowledge of this fact filled them

The Fury of the Battle.

with so much fury, that it was with difficulty they were prevented from rushing headlong into the battle.

Aulus, perceiving the ardor of his troops, and hearing, moreover, that the Latins expected further reinforcements, gave the signal for the battle. Nothing could exceed the rage and obstinacy with which the two armies dashed upon each other. That vast line of soldiers, extending over hill and dale, as far as the eye could reach, seemed suddenly and simultaneously moved as if by magic. Onward they flew, their swords and spears giving forth a sound that made the earth tremble around them. Nor was the battle confined to the soldiery alone. Those who were highest in command were conspicuous in the fight. Even old King Tarquinius dashed forward, lance in hand, to where it raged most fiercely; and his son Titus fought bravely by his side, till obliged to retire, wounded by a javelin. Æbutius, also, the general of the Roman cavalry, heedless of his own person, darted upon Mamilius, commander-in-chief of the enemy, wounding him in the breast, and receiving in return a blow that nearly deprived him of an arm. So also was Titus Herminius fighting as bravely as he did upon the bridge, when Horatius Cocles un-

dertook to defend it against the combined forces of Porsenna. And Marcus Valerius, also, entered the contest, swearing that as his family had the honor of having banished the Tarquinius, so they should possess that of having slain them. But the boast of Valerius was in vain, for, intent upon killing Titus Tarquinius, he rushed madly into the midst of a band of Latins, and was pierced by a score of darts. Revenge immediately took possession of those who witnessed the deed, and the body of Valerius was soon covered by a hundred of his foes.

The left wing of the Roman army, discouraged by the loss of its chiefs, and vigorously attacked by the exiles, began to give way and fly. The Dictator Aulus, perceiving it, gave orders for a detachment of cavalry to repair to the spot and compel the deserters to return, or slay them as enemies. Placing himself also at the head of a chosen band, he fell furiously upon the exiles, put them to flight, and slew Titus, the son of King Tarquinius.

This affair, so unfortunate for the Latin army, was perceived by Mamilius, their leader. Fearful of the consequences, he sped with a large detachment to aid the routed exiles. But Herminius, the lieutenant-general of the Ro-

man army, recognizing Mamilius by his clothes and arms, darted upon him and slew him at a single blow of his lance. A similar fate, however, befell Herminius, for as he stooped to despoil Mamilius he was pierced through with a javelin, and laid dead upon the body of his foe.

Still the left wing of the Latin army, under the command of Sextus Tarquinius, maintained their ground, and the Roman troops were even giving way before them, when Aulus, with a large body of cavalry, suddenly came to their relief. Sextus, believing his situation to be hopeless, rushed upon the Romans with the fury of despair. With his own sword he cut down all before him, until at length, entirely surrounded by enemies, he was hurled to the ground, covered with blood and wounds.

The Latins, perceiving that their chieftains were all slain, were thrown into the utmost confusion. The inferior officers participating in the general alarm, failed to exert any command, and in a short time that immense army began an inglorious and disorderly flight. The victory of the Romans was complete. The battle had continued during the whole day, and when they laid down at night, they were surrounded by the dead bodies of thirty thousand

The two mysterious Horsemen.

of their enemies; they also had in charge five thousand prisoners, together with a large amount of the richest spoils.

Many wonderful things are related of the battle of the Lake of Regillus. Among others, it is said that during one period of the battle the Romans gave way so rapidly before the Latins, that Aulus fell down upon his knees and vowed a temple to the deities Castor and Pollux, if they would aid him to win the victory. No sooner had he risen to his feet than two horsemen, arrayed in glittering apparel and upon snow-white steeds, appeared at the head of the Roman bands, exciting all around them to courage, and carrying destruction wheresoever they went. Wherever the battle was fiercest, there might these shining cavaliers be seen; nor did they quit their dangerous position until the camp was taken and the enemy put to flight; but when Aulus inquired for them, in order that he might bestow upon them a reward suited to their valor, they could not be found, either among the living or the dead. As the sun went down, the people of Rome became anxious to know how the battle had gone; and while they were wondering as to the fate of their friends, there suddenly appeared in the Forum two shining horsemen upon

snow-white horses, having every appearance of men who had just come from the battle, and their horses all covered with foam. Going immediately to the fountain by the temple of Vesta, they washed away the stains of the fight, and related to all who crowded around them how the battle had been fought, and how it had been won. Then they mounted their horses and rode from the Forum; nor could they ever be found again, though diligent search was made for them in every place.

Accounts of the battle were sent to the Senate and to the people on the following day; and mention is said to have been made of the two shining horsemen. Then every one believed that Castor and Pollux had aided Aulus to obtain his victory, and a temple was accordingly raised in their honor.

Great was the rejoicing in Rome when Aulus with his victorious army returned, bearing their rich trophies, and accompanied by their numerous prisoners. He was honored with a magnificent triumphal procession, and a tenth part of the spoils was set apart for the celebration of games, and for the performance of suitable sacrifices.

These had scarcely been concluded, when the Latins sent ambassadors to Rome, chosen from

Peace concluded with the Latins.

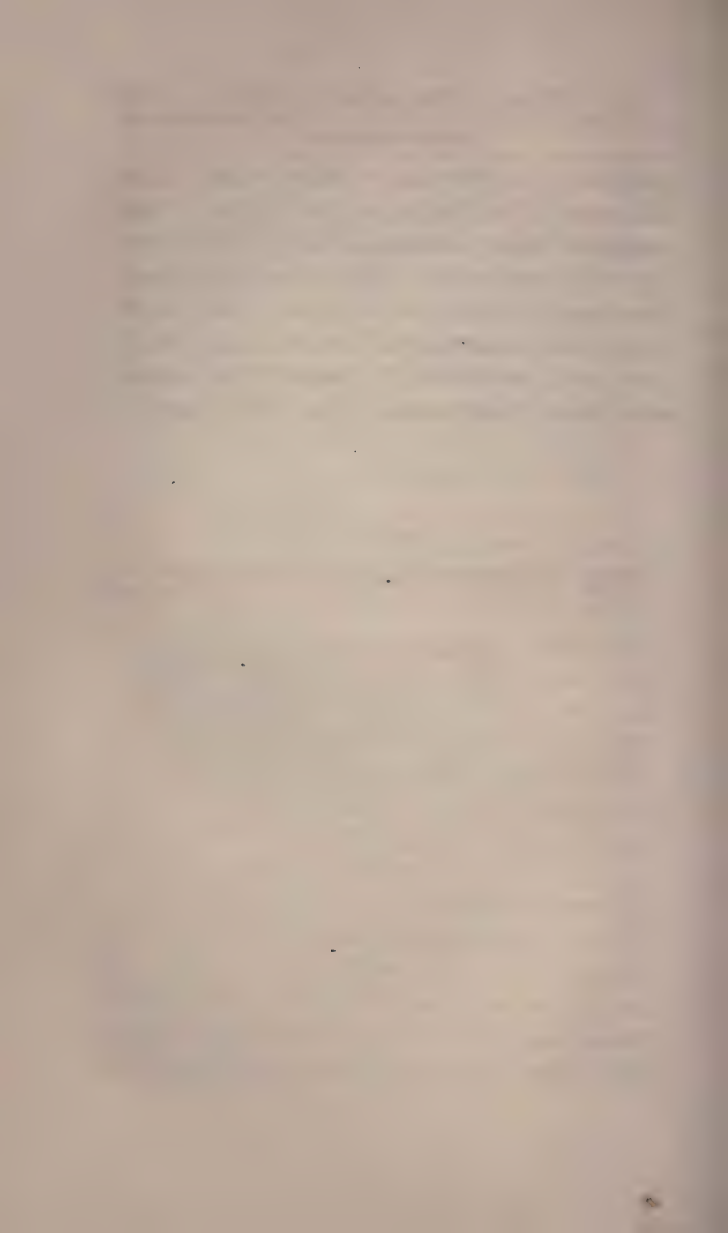
all the principal cities which had opposed the recent war. They brought olive branches in their hands; and appearing before the Senate, made long speeches, in which they condemned the conduct of their countrymen, and threw the blame of the war upon their rulers. They confessed that they had been justly punished, and desired to become the inseparable friends of the Romans, promising implicit obedience to their commands, and aid to them in all their enterprises.

The Senate did not seem much inclined to listen to their professions, inasmuch as they had hitherto proved themselves false and treacherous. Nevertheless, it was finally determined to grant them peace, on condition that they would deliver up all their deserters, drive away the exiles who had taken refuge among them, and surrender those whom they had taken prisoners. "Do all this," said the Dictator to them, "and then return, and we will conclude with you a treaty of peace."

A few days after, the ambassadors returned, bringing with them the deserters, whom they had caused to be arrested. A treaty of friendship was then arranged; and thus, after struggling fourteen years against the machinations of King Tarquinius, Rome at last beheld him

Death of Tarquinius.

completely overthrown. Driven away from the cities of the Latins, he was obliged to take refuge in Cumæ, where he, at last, died in obscurity and wretchedness. The news of his death was received with great joy at Rome, both among the senators and the commons; but it was the signal for fresh injuries to the people, and further disturbances of the public peace.



THE PATRICIANS AND PLEBEIANS.

FROM 493 TO 491 B. C.

SERVILIUS and Appius Claudius—Oppression of the Poor
—The Story of the old Centurion—Trouble with the People
—A threatened Invasion—Preparations for Battle—The Vol-
sci repulsed—Further Troubles on account of the Debts—
The Sabines attack Rome—The People refuse to enlist—A
Dictator created—Rome's Enemies defeated—Retirement of
the People to Mons Sacer—Effort of the Patricians to bring
them back.

III.

THE PATRICIANS AND PLEBEIANS.

SINCE the creation of the first Dictator, the patricians had learned that their own safety, as well as that of the commonwealth, depended upon their treatment of the poorer classes. These must be conciliated, if protection was needed against the enemies of the Republic. One source, and a very great source too, of their uneasiness was removed, since death had prevented Tarquinius from giving them any further trouble. No sooner did they see themselves delivered from this fear, than the rich commenced the same hateful course which had so exasperated the poor upon former occasions. Those debts which had before created so much trouble, remained still unpaid. They were now talked of, and their payment vehemently demanded. The poor expostulated, and earnestly plead their inability. The creditors replied,

Servilius and Appius Claudius.

that they had acted with leniency; that they had submitted to a law which had robbed them of their rights; that the war was at last brought to a close, and that the time for the settlement of their claims had now arrived. Severity was used; and it was not long before the utmost cruelty was resorted to. It is not surprising, then, that a general discontent should follow, and that the city should again be threatened with civil discord. In the midst of all this, Aulus Postumius resigned the dictatorship, and Appius Claudius and Publius Servilius were elected consuls.

The election of these two men to the consulship was a contrivance, and perhaps a good contrivance, of the Senate; for, although they both possessed excellent traits, they were very different in their dispositions. Appius was a man of great resolution, and a severe observer of the laws; while Servilius, on the other hand, was gentle, humane, and agreeable to the poor and to the multitude. There was nothing more certain than a contrariety of opinions between them. Servilius could not fail, from the goodness of his heart, to favor the suppression of debts, or at least the taking off of the exorbitant and accumulated interest, which already exceeded the debts themselves. Appius, on the

contrary, maintained that it was unjust to relieve the debtor at the expense of the creditor; and he urged that the course proposed by Servilius would be regarded by the seditious only as a mark of concealed weakness, and that new pretensions would be thereby fostered.

The discussions which they held together did not fail to reach the ears of the people, and public feeling was exhibited in the praises which were bestowed upon Servilius, as well as in the curses which were heaped upon the head of Appius, his colleague.

All the efforts of Servilius were in vain. The poor were dreadfully oppressed by their merciless creditors, who delivered them up to prisons and stripes, and made them undergo the most cruel treatment. Still they cried out bitterly against the law, and made frequent and bold endeavors to free themselves from their oppressions. Secret meetings were held in the night-time; means of deliverance were constantly devised and discussed; and, in a short time, the city was thrown into the most violent commotion.

Upon a certain occasion, while a great number of the people were collected together and talking over their grievances, a very aged and feeble centurion, loaded with heavy chains,

threw himself in their midst, claiming their protection. His clothes were soiled and torn, his face pale and disfigured, and his whole appearance gave evidence of the grossest maltreatment. Notwithstanding his pitiful and wretched condition, there were many present who recognized him, and who said that he had formerly been a centurion that had often won distinction by his bravery in battle. He himself showed the scars which he had received in various combats, and gave the names of the consuls and officers under whom he had served. Upon being asked by the multitude, whence he came, and why he was in such a deplorable condition, he replied, that while he was serving in the war against the Sabines, the enemy had fallen upon his property, destroying not only the crops which covered his fields, but the house which protected his little ones; that they had carried away his flocks and herds, and all that he had laid by to support himself and family. He said, too, that, to increase his misfortunes, a heavy tribute had been exacted from him at a time when he was without the means to pay it; that, in order to satisfy this demand, he had been compelled to borrow money on exorbitant interest; that this interest having accumulated, he had been obliged first

to sell his lands, then his household goods, and, finally, that he had been compelled to deliver himself as a slave to those who had taken possession of his substance. He said, moreover, that his creditors had treated him, not as a slave, but as a criminal condemned to the severest punishment; and in proof of this, exhibited upon his back the marks of the whips and rods with which his flesh had been torn.

As soon as he had finished speaking and showing his wounds, the people raised a tumult which pervaded the whole city; others who had suffered similar maltreatment, ran from all quarters, imploring the protection of their fellows, and the multitude soon became so great as to create considerable alarm among the patricians. Some of them, indeed, would have doubtless lost their lives, had not the consuls hastened to appease the anger of the populace. As soon as these magistrates made their appearance, the multitude turned towards them, and exhibited the chains and ignominious stripes that had been inflicted upon those who had hazarded their lives in behalf of the Republic. They demanded, in threatening language, that the Senate should be assembled at once, and that something should be done to

protect them from the injuries to which they were exposed.

Some of the senators having collected together, the people assembled in crowds around their place of meeting, determined that they should act promptly and efficiently in their behalf. But either through fear, or a disinclination to act, they sent out word to them that there was not a sufficient number present to transact business. This excuse was not, however, satisfactory, and the tumult continued with increasing fury. The absent senators being finally convened, they promised to do something at once to relieve the people.

In the midst of all this tumult, the attention of the multitude was suddenly attracted towards a horseman who was seen riding furiously over the distant hills in the direction of Rome. Onward he came, as if life depended on the speedy fulfilment of his course. The multitude gazed and wondered, and seemed for the time to forget the cause which had brought them together. Presently the horseman was hid behind the walls which he was rapidly approaching; and then the city gates flew open, and, without slackening his pace, he bounded forward towards the place of assembly. "To arms! To arms, Romans!" he shouted; "the

Volscians are coming, with an army more numerous than the trees of the forest!"

The man who brought this intelligence was a friendly chieftain of the Latin nation, and no one doubted the truth of what he said. A profound silence instantly pervaded the vast assemblage. Presently there arose a shout of fiendish joy, that rang long and loudly through the distant hills and valleys. "The gods are on our side!" shouted the furious multitude; "they will soon humble the pride of these inhuman senators. Let the Volscians come; and let us all, plebeians and patricians, die together!"

The news of the threatened invasion had now reached the senate-chamber; so, too, the shout of joy with which it had been received by the maddened people. All was confusion and uncertainty. The senators, at length recovering somewhat from their shock, besought the consul Servilius, who was more popular than his colleague, to go out and endeavor to appease the people, and bring them back to a sense of their duty. Appearing in their midst, Servilius assured them in the most soothing manner, that the Senate were seriously deliberating upon the best means of gratifying their wishes. He represented to them that the consternation pro-

Murmurings cease—Preparations for Battle.

duced by hearing of the approach of their enemies, together with the necessity of immediate action on their part, made it impossible for them to labor effectually in behalf of the private interests of the citizens. He implored them, for the sake of their wives and children, to lay aside their hostility towards the patricians, and to aid in the public defence. He promised also that upon the close of the war, every thing should be done which could promote their welfare; and decreed that, in the mean time, no debt whatever should be prosecuted.

The well-known kindness of Servilius, the zeal which he had always manifested in behalf of the people, together with the mildness and eloquence with which he spoke, were powerful enough to calm all murmurings. The people permitted themselves to be enrolled, and even exhibited considerable ardor in ranging themselves under the standards of their leaders. Marching out of the city, with Servilius at their head, they encountered the enemy, who were hastening forward, confident of victory. The battle was delayed until the consul felt assured that the sudden animation of his troops was not affected. Seeing that they were really eager for the combat, he gave the signal, and never

did soldiers display greater bravery or intrepidity. The Volscians, unable to withstand their attack, fell back terrified and confused. The Romans pursued them even into the midst of their camp. Their triumph was complete; and, loading themselves with booty, they marched on to Suessa Pometia, where the remnant of the enemy had fled. Here the Volscians defended themselves with much obstinacy during several days, but were finally compelled to yield. Having pillaged all the houses and stores, and put the inhabitants to the sword, Servilius returned with his victorious troops to Rome.

These additional victories inspired the people with a hope that the Senate would now grant the relief which had been promised to them through the consul Servilius. A short time, therefore, after their return from the recent campaign, they demanded a fulfilment of the promise. But Appius had become jealous of the success of his colleague Servilius, and, in order to throw him into contempt, he caused the law to be enforced with all its severity against debtors. Those who were thereby persecuted resorted to Servilius for protection: but it was all in vain; for even if he had been able to help them, he was now disinclined to

Further Troubles grow out of the Debts.

interfere, inasmuch as his colleague and all the nobility were favorable to opposite measures. But by this course of conduct he not only acquired the hatred of the plebeians, but lost the esteem of the patricians; the former regarded him as a deceiver, and the latter considered him as devoid of the firmness necessary to a ruler.

The people now, giving up all hopes of protection, resolved to take matters in their own hands. Persons were stationed in the neighborhood of the courts for the purpose of watching whatever transpired. Whenever any debtor was seized and led in for trial, a crowd rushed in from all quarters, making so much clamor and confusion as to prevent the voices of the officers from being heard, and likewise to deter any one from executing the sentence of the law. The people seemed likely to obtain by force what they had failed to procure by entreaty; and the creditor, who was now assailed and abused by the angry multitude, seemed even in greater dread of losing his liberty than the debtor. In the midst of this difficulty, an alarm was spread that the Sabines were intending to make an attack upon the city. Orders were promptly issued for a levy of troops, but not a single man would suffer himself to be en-

rolled. Dismay again took possession of the Senate. The consul Servilius flattered the people in vain, and in vain did the consul Appius scold and threaten to visit their disobedience with the severest penalties of the law. They bade the senators to take up arms themselves; they told Servilius that his promises were no better than those of their perjured allies, and they ridiculed the rage of Appius and dared him to execute the threats of which he was so lavish. Every day matters grew worse and worse, and most serious fears were entertained for the safety of the commonwealth.

About this time, the terms of the consuls Servilius and Appius drawing to a close, the friends of the Republic hoped that the election of consuls more agreeable to the people would be productive of some degree of quiet. Aulus Virginius and Titus Vetusius were the persons elected to office; but the people, now uncertain as to what kind of governors were set over them, held regular nightly meetings upon the Esquiline and Aventine mounts, in order that they might, at any time, be able to act promptly and in concert. These meetings caused great uneasiness to the consuls, and the Senate upbraided them in the bitterest terms, because they did not put a stop to them, and make ex-

Vain attempts to raise Troops—Dictator created.

amples of the ringleaders. A decree was now passed, that the consuls should enforce the levies with the utmost strictness. This they accordingly attempted, and, mounting the tribunal, they cited the younger citizens by their names; but no other answer was made except a shout from the multitude, "that the common people could no longer be deceived; and that not a single soldier should be raised until the public engagements were fulfilled; that every man must have his liberty restored, before arms were put into his hands, in order that the people might be convinced that they were to fight for their country and fellow-citizens, not for their masters."

It was evident enough to the consuls, that neither they nor the Senate possessed sufficient power to control this determined multitude; so, after making one or two vain efforts to enforce obedience, they concluded to resign their office and create a Dictator.

The person whom they selected was Marcus Valerius, the brother of Publius Valerius, who had always been a great favorite of the people. The choice proved very acceptable to every one, and he at once gained the confidence of all, by proclaiming that no person should be molested on account of debt, and by promising

to terminate, at the close of the campaign, all the difficulties of the commons. The citizens once more gave in their names, and suffered themselves to be enrolled without any opposition. Ten legions were raised, each composed of four thousand infantry and three hundred cavalry. Three of these were placed under the command of each consul, and four under the Dictator.

There was no further time to be lost. The Equans were already invading the territories of the Latins, and ambassadors were in Rome beseeching the Senate to send troops to the assistance of their allies. The Volscians, too, were in the field, and the Sabines were committing depredations on every hand. Onward, therefore, went the Roman armies, led in different directions by the consuls and the Dictator, and, though far surpassed in numbers by their foes, victory failed not to accompany them. The Equans, the Volscians, and the Sabines were cut to pieces, or sent flying to their homes; and the Roman leaders brought back their troops covered with glory and laden with the spoils of their enemies.

As soon as the army had returned to Rome, the Dictator Valerius appeared before the Senate, and demanded of them what course they

Valerius resigns the Dictatorship.

intended to pursue in regard to those persons who were confined for debt. In reply to his inquiries, the Senate giving him to understand, that they were opposed to taking the matter into consideration, Valerius thus addressed them: "My endeavors, senators, to restore concord are, I see, displeasing to you; believe me, when I solemnly declare, that the time will shortly come when you will wish that the commons of Rome had just such patrons as I am; as to myself, I will neither be the means of further disappointments to the hopes of my countrymen, nor will I hold the office of Dictator without effect. Intestine discord and foreign wars made it necessary for the commonwealth to have such a magistrate; peace has been procured abroad; at home it is not suffered to take place; it is my determination then, in time of sedition, to appear in the character of a private citizen, rather than in that of Dictator."

Having delivered this speech, he left the Senate chamber, abdicating at the same time the dictatorship. The common people, believing that he had resigned his office on account of the ill-treatment which they had received, attended him, as he retired to his house, with gratitude and applause.

Upon the abdication of Valerius, those le-

gions assigned to him were disbanded according to custom ; but the other six legions which had been under the command of the consuls were still kept together, and ready for service. In order that they might not be broken up, the Senate instructed the consuls to lead them out against the Equans, who, they pretended, had renewed their hostilities. The design of the patricians was, however, too evident, and the commons resolved unanimously, but silently, that they would no longer suffer themselves to be deceived. Obedient to the commands of the consuls they took up their arms, and, marching forth from the city, encamped on the banks of the river Anio near to Rome.

The day drawing to a close, they lighted their camp-fires and made the usual preparations for the night. But as they were all going about, each in the performance of his respective duty, word was passed around, from man to man, that none of the commons should go to sleep that night, but be ready at a signal to follow their secret leaders. At the appointed time, when the patricians, stretched upon their soft couches, were locked in slumber, they all marched silently forth with their arms and standards, and took possession of a fortified hill about three miles distant from the city.

The Patricians strive to bring them back.

The vexation of the consuls and of the officers may be easily imagined, when, at the break of day, they discovered themselves to have been entirely deserted by their troops; and it being no difficult matter to ascertain the direction in which they had gone, we cannot doubt that immediate measures were taken to bring back the deserters to their duty. The proud patricians followed, then, with all speed in the track of their revolting army, and reaching the base of the hill where the rebels had encamped, sought, by alternate reproaches and promises, to win them again to obedience.

“Enough, enough!” shouted Sicinius, who acted as a leader among the soldiers. “How have ye the heart, O patricians, to call back men whom ye yourselves turn into slaves or exiles? How will ye give us faith in promises so often broken as yours have been? If ye wish the city to yourselves, go hence unhindered; but for us, our country shall be that in which we can find liberty.”

The consuls and the patricians were soon convinced of their inability to contend against so much resolution, and, therefore, quietly mounting their horses they turned towards Rome.

THE TRIBUNES OF THE PEOPLE.

FROM 491 TO 485 B. C.

FEARS of the Patricians—Embassy to the Revolters—Their Reception and Offers—Discourse of Junius Brutus—Fable related by Menenius—Reconciliation of the Plebeians—Cunning of Brutus—Tribunes of the People created—Their Powers—The *Ædiles*—Famine in Rome—Coriolanus—His Character—The Hatred of the People towards him—He is cited before them—Efforts made to save him—His Trial and Condemnation—He offers his Services to the Volsci—He goes to the house of Tullus Attius—His Reception—Enters into the Service of the Volsci—Marches against Rome—Failure of the different Embassies sent to him—His Mother prevailed upon to intercede with him—Her Appeal to him in behalf of Rome—Her Success—Death of Coriolanus.



CORIOLANUS AND HIS MOTHER.

IV.

THE TRIBUNES OF THE PEOPLE.

No sooner had the news of the revolt of the plebeians reached Rome, than the whole city was thrown into the greatest commotion. Those who had friends and relatives among the rebels, naturally felt for them the greatest solicitude, and in many cases undertook to join them. The patricians, meanwhile, terrified by the loss of citizens upon whom they depended for defence and service, endeavored to retain all who remained behind, and, closing the gates of the city, promised to make the most friendly efforts to bring back those who had thus gone into voluntary exile. There were many, nevertheless, who fled to join their kinsmen upon the Sacred Hill.

The city, thus deserted, was in the utmost danger from its numerous foes, who, in time, hearing of the civil discord by which it had

been rent, would be certain to make it an easy prey. To make the best of their condition, the patricians armed themselves, their clients, and as many as they could gather from the lowest classes of the plebeians. They strengthened also the gates, manned the towers, and set their posts without the walls. Besides all this, through the temperate counsels of the wiser patricians, it was resolved to send an embassy to the revolters, who still remained upon the hill by the river Anio, increasing daily in number, and procuring such food and shelter as the neighboring lands afforded. It may be easily imagined that the revolters themselves were quite as anxious as the patricians to become reconciled with their countrymen, for it was not very probable that they could form a more agreeable alliance; and the means of gaining a subsistence, after the harvests around them had been reaped, would be very scanty indeed.

When, therefore, the commissioners, sent by the Senate, came within sight of the hill, the whole throng of revolters descended to meet them. At their head was Sicinius, whose name has been already mentioned, and Junius Brutus, a very quick-witted and self-esteeming personage. At the head of the embassy was Menenius Agrippa, whose off-hand eloquence had

made him a general favorite at Rome. He had, moreover, sprung from the plebeians himself, and was, therefore, a very suitable person to be intrusted with such a matter.

Reaching the great multitude that flocked down the hill to meet him and his associates, he made known to them at once the wishes of the Senate, and besought them to return peacefully to Rome. But the plebeians, who had been apprised of the approach of the embassy, determined to cross at first the negotiations of the commissioners, and, by raising obstacles to union and peace, to gain every possible advantage. Accordingly, when they had stated their message from the Senate, Junius Brutus immediately cried out: "The Senate betray their fear; we are masters if we know how to improve this opportunity; speak, then, all that you have to say, and I will endeavor to answer, in the name of my comrades, in such a way as will be equally useful and agreeable to them."

It was thereupon agreed that the commissioners and the multitude should reascend the hill and talk the matter over in the camp. Having here arranged themselves in the most convenient manner, both for speaking and listening, M. Valerius began the negotiation by offering, in the name of the Senate, pardon to

all the revolters, and, at the same time, an earnest appeal to them to return to the city, where their wives and children were sighing for their embraces.

This speech was replied to by Sicinius, who urged that, before the people consented to this, it was but just that they themselves should open their grievances, and know what they might hope from the fine promises of the Senate. Closing his harangue with a call upon the soldiers to defend the public liberty, he was immediately followed by Junius Brutus, who addressed himself to the multitude in such a way as to encourage them in their revolt, and to increase in them a hatred of the patricians, who were already beginning to feel the want of their protection and their service. Then, turning towards the ambassadors, he cried out: "You invite us to return to Rome, but you do not tell us upon what conditions. You talk to us of nothing but pardon and forgiveness, as if we were your subjects, and subjects in rebellion; but that is the point to be decided. The question is—Which is in the fault, the people or the Senate? which of these two orders first violated that common society which ought to subsist between the citizens of one and the same republic?"

In a long oration, he then related to them a number of facts by which he showed the continued devotion of the commons to the higher classes, and the self-sacrificing spirit which they had ever manifested in their behalf; and concluded by asking them to show what recompense the commons had ever received for their assistance. "Instead of assistance," said he, "have not our bravest soldiers, oppressed with the weight of usury, groaned beneath the chains of their merciless creditors? Have not your promises to relieve us been forgotten, and have not our services been denied? Suffer us, then, to depart from a country where we are treated like so many slaves; and, so long as we have our swords in our hands, we shall be able to open for ourselves a way into more fortunate climes."

Every one of the multitude, by his looks and gestures, testified to the truth of these words; and many came forward and showed the marks of the stripes and injuries which they had received. T. Largius, the head of the embassy, endeavored to justify the conduct of the patricians and of the creditors; but he only made the matter worse, and even provoked Sicinius to interrupt his speech, and to order him and his fellow commissioners to propose the condi-

Conciliatory Speech of Menenius—A Fable.

tions which they were empowered to make, or to leave the camp at once.

This brought out Menenius, a man of great prudence and penetration, who, in a speech full of moderation and wisdom, was able to win the attention and respect of the multitude. He stated to them that the Senate had carefully inquired into the poverty of the plebeians and the severity of their creditors, and that it was their determination to annul all obligations, and to declare the poor citizens free of all manner of debts. Taking advantage of the softening influence of his words, he represented to them how necessary it was to the State that one part of the citizens should be richer than another, and enforced this maxim by relating to them the following fable: "At a time when the members of the human body did not, as at present, all unite in one plan, but each member had its own scheme and its own language, the other parts were provoked at seeing that the fruits of all their care were applied to the use of the stomach; and that the stomach meanwhile remained at its ease, and did nothing but enjoy the pleasures provided for it. On this they conspired together, that the hands should not bring food to the mouth, nor the mouth receive it if offered, nor the teeth chew it.

While they wished, through these angry measures, to subdue the stomach through hunger, the members and the whole body were, together with it, reduced to the last stage of decay. From thence it appeared that the office of the stomach itself was not confined to a slothful indolence; that it not only received nourishment, but supplied it to the others, conveying to every part of the body that blood on which depends our life and vigor, by distributing it equally through the veins, after having brought it to perfection by digestion of the food."

Making an application of this fable to the present case, and showing the great similarity between the dissension of the members and the resentment of the commons against the patricians, he made a powerful impression upon the people. "Receive our embraces as the first fruits of peace," said he, "and let us enter all together into Rome; let us jointly carry thither the first news of our reunion; and may the gods who protect this empire, grant that it may be hereafter celebrated by new victories!"

All the people, moved by this speech, cried out to Menenius that they were satisfied, and that he might lead them back to Rome. But the cunning Brutus checked their sudden transport, and insisted upon having some pledge of

Tribunes of the People created.

the sincerity of the patricians. "Grant us," said he, "some officers chosen out of the body of the plebeians! We ask for them neither purple robes, nor the curule chair, nor the licitors; but let them have the power to hinder the injustices that may be done to the people, and to defend their interests, both public and private."

This demand took the commissioners by surprise; and having conferred together on the subject, they agreed that this exceeded the bounds of their instructions, but that some of them would go back to the city and obtain the answer of the Senate. The distance not being great, and the Senate being easily convened, it was determined, after some discussion, to end the dispute by allowing the Plebeians to elect yearly from their number certain magistrates, who were to be called *Tribunes of the People*. Before leaving their camp upon the hill, they accordingly elected, for the first Tribunes, L. Junius Brutus, and C. Licinius Bellutus, the leaders of the revolt.* And now having nothing to detain them any longer from Rome, they first performed a sacrifice to the gods upon the

* Livy says that C. Licinius and Lucius Albenus were the first Tribunes, and that they created three colleagues, one of whom was Sicinius.

hill, which they afterwards called Mons Sacer; and then, led by their Tribunes and the commissioners, they went to the embraces of their wives and their children.

The establishment of the Tribuneship was another change in the form of the government of Rome. From a monarchy to a kind of aristocracy, it was by slow steps approaching a democracy.

The Tribunes, it is true, had little in their appearance to awaken any apprehension on the part of the proud patricians. They were dressed like the plainest citizens, attended only by a single servant called *viator*, and never admitted inside of the senate-chamber, except on invitation. But they had the right to oppose and wholly nullify the decrees of this august Senate by simply using the little Latin word *veto*, which means, *I forbid it*; and this they wrote at the bottom of these decrees, when they thought them contrary to the liberty of the people. This was a simple and unobjectionable means of preventing oppression; but it will be seen in the end that, under pretence of securing the liberty of the people, these humble magistrates concealed a design of ruining the authority of the Senate. It was not long before they obtained permission to choose, as their as-

sistants, two plebeians, with the title of *ædiles*, who, from acting as their agents, finally became inspectors of the public edifices, baths, aqueducts, &c. Still Rome presented every appearance of repose, and the friendly feelings between the plebeians and the patricians seemed to be sincere and durable. But the fire of division had not been wholly quenched.

During the consulate which followed the revolt, a terrible famine occurred, and, as a matter of course, all kinds of provisions were sold at an excessively high price. Bitter complaints were made on the part of the people, and it was commonly believed that the patricians, having their granaries full, had occasioned the public dearth, in order to make up to themselves the abolition of the debts. This opinion was very much strengthened, too, by the conduct of *Marcus Coriolanus*, an avowed enemy of the power of the *Tribunes*. “If the plebeians wish to have provisions at the usual price,” said he, “let them restore to the patricians their former rights. Why am I obliged, after being sent under the yoke—after being ransomed, as it were, from robbers—to behold plebeian magistrates, to behold *Sicinius* invested with power and authority? The road is open to the Sacred Mount, and to other hills; let them carry off

the corn from our lands, as they did two years ago."

This Marcius Coriolanus was descended from one of the most illustrious patrician families in Rome. He had been brought up with great care by his mother, Veturia, a woman of noted austerity, who had taken every pains to inspire him with her own sentiments. At an early period, he showed great capacity for the art of war. Indeed, he received the surname of Coriolanus for having distinguished himself so much in the capture of Corioli, one of the cities of the Volsci, which he set on fire with his own hand, performing at the same time many valourous exploits. His harshness of manner was, however, so great, that he could never make himself a favorite among the people, who, while they admired his valor, his uprightness, and his generosity, dreaded his severity and his pride. When he wished the consulship, the plebeians therefore refused to him their votes, and for this reason he ever entertained for them the greatest hatred. It is not surprising, then, that he should have endeavored to avenge himself upon the plebeians, at a time when their poverty threw them so completely in his power.

The speech of Coriolanus, just now quoted,

was highly applauded by the younger senators, who openly advocated the abolishment of the Tribuneship; but the Tribunes, on the other hand, who happened to be present by invitation, were very much incensed; and assembling the people tumultuously, they cried out that the patricians had made a league to destroy them, their wives and their children, unless the plebeians delivered their magistrates, chained, into the hands of Coriolanus. They declared that he was a second tyrant rising up in the Republic, and aiming at their death or slavery.

The plebeians had now, however, acquired so much power that they no longer entertained the idea of deserting, as upon a former occasion, but rather of making a trial of their strength with the patricians in the very centre of Rome itself. Nothing now but the destruction of their enemies could be thought of; but, that the forms of justice might be observed, they summoned Coriolanus to come and answer for his conduct before an assembly of the people. But this proud senator sending back their officer with contempt, they waited for him at the door of the Senate, in order to seize him when he should come out. As he made his appearance, therefore, the ædiles were or-

dered to lead him to prison ; but the command was not an easy one to execute, for Coriolanus and his friends stood upon their defence, and, using well their fists, forced the ædiles to make a quick retreat. A general disturbance immediately ensued, in which the plebeians on one side, and the patricians on the other, commenced abusing and reproaching one another in the bitterest terms. In the midst of it the consuls arrived, and by means of entreaties, as well as by their authority, succeeded in dispersing the multitude and sending them to their homes.

But the plebeians, conscious of their power, had determined not so easily to abandon their game. On the following day, therefore, they assembled in crowds at the Forum to talk over their grievances, and to contrive plans for remedying them. The patricians also assembled with them, and the conduct of Coriolanus being the exciting theme, much was said by both parties for and against him. Coriolanus himself was there ; and being called upon to say, as had been stated by his friends, that he was willing to ask pardon if he had done wrong, he inveighed more violently than ever against the enterprises of the Tribunes, and declared boldly, that the people had no right to

Coriolanus cited before the People.

judge a senator; that the consuls and the Senate alone had a right to call him to account for his behavior.

A serious attempt would have been made to destroy him at once, had not the cunning Brutus perceived that the people were not, at the moment, in a mood to lay hands upon him and to drag him from the midst of his numerous compeers. This individual then holding a brief consultation with the Tribune Sicinius, the latter cried out: "You see, O Romans, that it is not the fault of the patricians that much blood is not shed to-day, and that they are ready to come to the greatest extremity to rescue the declared enemies of the Roman people out of the hands of justice. But it is our duty to set them better examples: we will do nothing rashly. Though the criminal is sufficiently convicted by his own confession, we are yet willing to give him time to prepare his defence. We cite thee," added he, addressing himself to Coriolanus, "to appear before the people in seven and twenty days. As to the distribution of the corn, if the Senate does not take due care of that matter, the Tribunes will give directions about it themselves."

It was very hard for the Senate to yield to such an extraordinary measure; but agreeably

to the *Valerian law*, every man having the right to appeal to the people from the decrees of the Senate and the judgments of the consuls, it seemed useless for them to refuse the demand. Besides, it was not a single plebeian that complained, but the whole body of the Roman people, who were demanding the condemnation of a tyrant who had been charged with attempting to destroy his fellow-citizens by famine, and with having proposed the abolition of the tribuneship, a magistracy made sacred by the most solemn oaths.

Appius Claudius and other patricians did all in their power to save Coriolanus from the people; but the consul M. Valerius, believing that the Senate, by letting go some little of its authority, would secure the duration of it, and that nothing would be more likely to disarm the people's rage against the illustrious criminal than by allowing them to judge him, turned to Coriolanus, and besought him in the most tender manner to give peace to the Republic. "Go, Coriolanus," said he; "offer yourself generously to the judgment of the people: this is the only honorable way of justifying yourself; this is the surest means to silence those who accuse you of aiming at tyranny. The people, moved with beholding so great a soul

The advice of Valerius to Coriolanus.

bowing under the power of their Tribunes, can never bring themselves to pronounce sentence of condemnation upon Coriolanus. If, on the other hand, you show contempt for the tribunals of the people, you will become the fatal torch ; and who can tell how far the flame may run. Set Rome, therefore, before your eyes, and give it an exhibition of your love."

The minds of many of the senators being thus disposed to peace by the speech of Valerius, they united with him, beseeching Coriolanus to yield himself to a trial by the people. "You know, Conscript Fathers," replied Coriolanus, addressing the senators, "what the whole course of my life has hitherto been. You know that this obstinate hatred of the people, and that unjust persecution which I now suffer from it, are occasioned only by the inviolable zeal which I have always shown for the interests of this body. I will not insist upon the returns I now meet with ; the event will show the weakness and perhaps the malice of the counsels which are given you in this affair. But since Valerius's opinion has at length prevailed, let me know, at least, what is the crime that I am charged with, and upon what conditions I am delivered over to the fury of my adversaries."

After some consultation, the Tribunes agreed that they would confine their whole accusation to the single crime of tyranny. "If it be so," replied Coriolanus, "and I have nothing to disprove but a calumny so ill-grounded, I freely yield myself to the judgment of the people."

Thus, with the consent of all parties, the decree was signed, allowing Coriolanus seven and twenty days to prepare his defence. And when the day arrived, an immense multitude crowded the Forum at an early hour. The friends of Coriolanus labored faithfully in his behalf; while, on the other hand, the Tribunes and all his enemies did every thing in their power to accomplish his destruction. Coriolanus himself answered the suspicions which had been cast upon him, by a simple narration of his services. He gave an account of all the engagements in which he had taken part, showed the wounds which he had received, the military honors which his generals had bestowed upon him, and named the several posts in the army through which he had successively passed. He then called upon the multitude present, even citing many of them by name, and demanded if they could not testify to the truth of what he said.

A great deal of feeling was manifested by his

old comrades in arms, and many among the plebeians shouted out in his behalf. But the Tribune Decius rising up, made a most powerful speech against him, in which he endeavored to show that Coriolanus had, upon a certain occasion, defrauded the soldiers of their booty, and had distributed it among his friends. He called upon many to testify to the fact, and, succeeding in turning the current of popular feeling against Coriolanus, called for the judgment of the people, which was promptly given, and Coriolanus was condemned to perpetual banishment.

The greatest consternation prevailed immediately among the patricians. This feeling was succeeded by rage and indignation; and Valerius was bitterly reproached for having misled them by his artful discourses. Coriolanus, however, with an appearance of the utmost unconcern, left the assembly, went to his house, where he found his wife and mother bathed in tears. Exhorting them to bear with patience this reverse of fortune, he bade them farewell, and refusing to take with him a single attendant, walked out of the gates of Rome, without speaking one word to the many friends who followed in his footsteps.

The people, of course, testified great joy on

account of this decided triumph over the Senate. Hitherto dependent upon the patricians, they were now become their judges, and had obtained a right to decide the fate of the greatest in the commonwealth. A terrible triumph for them it was, as we shall presently behold.

After leaving Rome, Coriolanus wandered about, indifferent as to the spot which should offer him an asylum, provided only that he could find the means and opportunities of avenging his wrongs. Looking around for the most powerful enemy of Rome, he finally determined to offer his services to the Volsci, and, if possible, to stir them up to war. This nation, bordering upon Rome, had always opposed it with remarkable courage, but never with much success. The Romans had taken from them, at different times, a great deal of their territory, and they had been compelled, not long before, to sue for a truce of two years, in order to repair their broken strength. Coriolanus himself had, more than once, cut to pieces their troops and ravaged their country; and his name was a terror throughout all their borders. And their very ruler, Tullus Attius, having been beaten by him in several engagements, it seemed the height of madness for him to venture in their midst. But Coriolanus

His appearance at the house of Tullus Attius.

thirsted for revenge, and determined to obtain it in the speediest and most certain manner, or die in the attempt.

Disguising himself, then, he one evening entered Antium, the chief city of the Volsci, and proceeded immediately to the house of Tullus. Entering it without speaking a single word, he took a seat by the domestic hearth—a place sacred in all the houses of ancient paganism. The servants, astonished at such extraordinary conduct, and struck by his majestic air, ran to tell their master. Tullus immediately appeared, and demanded of him who he was, and what he required.

“If thou dost not know me,” he replied, “I am Caius Marcius; my surname is Coriolanus, the only reward left me of all my services. I am banished from Rome by the hatred of the people, and the pusillanimity of the great: I seek revenge: it lies in thy power to employ my sword against my foes and thy country’s. If thy republic will not accept of my services, I give my life into thy hands; put an end to an old enemy, that may else come to do more mischief to thy country.”

Tullus was, of course, in great amazement, but in a moment comprehending all, he stretched to him his hand, and said: “Fear nothing, Mar-

The Volsci seek a pretext for War with Rome.

cus, thy confidence is the pledge of thy security. By bringing us thyself, thou givest us more than ever thou didst take from us. And accordingly we shall have care to acknowledge thy services better than thy fellow-citizens. So great a captain may justly expect the greatest honors from the Volsci."

They at once entered into a long conversation, which terminated in forming the following plan for renewing the war with the Romans, which had been suspended by the truce. It was determined, under pretence of a desire to convert the truce into a solid peace between the two nations, that ambassadors should be sent to Rome to demand only this one condition, namely, a restitution of the lands which had been taken from them at different times; a thing which they knew that the Romans would never consent to do.

This plan having been approved by the Volscian Senate, ambassadors were selected and dispatched to Rome, and in the mean time, the most active preparations were made for war. As a matter of course the Senate of Rome refused to restore the territory which they had taken by conquest from the Volsci, and their reply to the ambassadors was, that if the Volsci took arms first, the Romans would lay them

Coriolanus marches against Rome.

down last. A declaration of war followed at once, and Tullus, remaining at home with a large body of troops, sent Coriolanus at the head of the army into the Roman territory. So rapid and unexpected were all his proceedings, that the cities against which he marched had neither time nor courage to defend themselves. The towns of Sarricum, Longulum, Polusca, and Corioli, were taken from the Romans in quick succession; so also were Corbio, Vitellium, Trebia, Labicum, and Pedum. The citizens of Bola, more obstinate than the others, were put to the sword, and the whole country was plundered and devastated. The houses and estates of the patricians, by order of Coriolanus, were, however, spared, a circumstance which greatly inflamed the plebeians.

Such continual success inspired the soldiers of Coriolanus, who, finding no army in the field to oppose his designs, advanced upon Lavinium, took it, and, coming within five miles of Rome, encamped his army.

The consternation at Rome was great indeed. No one had the courage to fight, and no one was found capable of leading. The people ran up and down on all sides, begging that means should be taken to bring about a peace, and they even expressed a wish to annul the sen-

tence passed upon Coriolanus, and to recall him from his exile. The Senate, however, refused to do this, saying, that Rome would never grant any thing to a rebel so long as he remained in arms.

This decision coming to the ears of Coriolanus, he immediately broke up his camp, and marching to the city, prepared to besiege it. At sight of such a daring proceeding, the patricians and the people became still more alarmed. Resolution entirely failed them, and they joined together in sending a deputation to Coriolanus, consisting of five men of consular dignity. But the haughty general would consent to give peace only on condition that Rome should restore to the Volsci the territory which it had taken from them. At the earnest request of the deputies, he granted the city a truce of thirty days, at the end of which time he appeared again at the gates of Rome.

Other deputies were now sent to him, who besought him not to exact any thing which might not be agreeable to the dignity of Rome; but he persisted obstinately in his demand, and threatened the destruction of the city if they did not comply within three days.

Terror now took possession of the Romans, and they appeared willing to do any thing to

avert the evil which awaited them. The priests, the augurs, and the guardians of the sacred things, dressed in their ceremonial robes, marched in procession to the camp, and begged Coriolanus by the respect that he owed to the gods, and by all that was sacred in religion, to grant to his country peace. He made to them, however, the same stern reply, adding that, notwithstanding their belief that the gods decreed the empire of the world to Rome, present appearances were much against it, and that he was sure of carrying the town.

The disappointed priests returned, and making known the result of their mission, the men women and children, bathed in tears, flocked to the temples to implore the gods to save their country. Moved by a sort of divine inspiration, a lady named Valeria, accompanied by a great number of women, went to the house of Veturia, the mother of Coriolanus, where they found her, as well as his wife, bitterly deploring the misfortunes of Rome.

"We are Roman ladies," said Valeria, as soon as she came into the presence of the mother of Coriolanus; "we are Roman ladies who have come to beseech you to aid in securing the safety of our common country. Go along with us to the camp of Coriolanus, and beg of

him peace for his fellow-citizens. All our hope is in the tender love which he may have for so good a mother and so virtuous a wife. Implore, conjure, demand him. He cannot withstand your tears; and we with our children will follow you, and cast ourselves at his feet."

The mother of Coriolanus was quite as anxious for the honor and safety of Rome as any of the ladies who surrounded her; but knowing perfectly the character of her son, she felt that it would be useless for her to interpose.

"What success can you expect from our entreaties to a man so implacable?" said she. "Can two women bend that stubborn heart, which the ministers of religion themselves could not soften? And indeed what shall I say to him? What can I reasonably desire of him? Shall I ask him to pardon those who have treated him like a man blackened with the foulest crimes? Shall I ask him to betray a nation that has opened to him an asylum, and preferred him to its most illustrious citizens in the command of its armies? Can a Roman mother and a Roman wife with decency exact from a son and a husband things which must dishonor him before both gods and men? Give us up therefore to our unhappy destiny; leave us buried in our just afflictions."

She goes to the Camp of her Son.

But the mother and wife of Coriolanus being finally overcome by their entreaties, consented to accompany them to the camp, and the approval of the Senate being obtained, they set out upon their mission in chariots provided for the purpose.

The news of their approach was carried to Coriolanus, who, conceiving it to be the last expedient of the Senate, determined to receive them with respect, but to grant none of their requests. Severe and resolute, however, as he was, he could not behold his mother and wife at the head of this troop of Roman ladies without running to embrace them; but the moment they began to entreat him to remove his troops from Rome, all his natural sternness returned, and he declared that he could grant the Romans peace only on the conditions already named.

“And can you, my son,” said the mother, raising her voice, “can you refuse a proposal so equitable, unless you prefer a cruel and obstinate revenge to your mother’s tears and entreaties? Consider that your reply is to decide the fate of my glory, nay, and of my life too!”

Coriolanus made no answer, but on his face any one might see a stern refusal of his mother’s prayer.

“Dost thou believe,” she continued, “that, covered with the shame of a contemptuous denial, I can patiently wait till thy arms have pronounced our doom? A Roman woman knows how to die, when her honor calls her so to do; and if I cannot move thee, I am resolved to give death to myself, here in thy presence. Thou shalt not march to Rome without treading over the body of her to whom thou owest thy being; and if a sight of so much horror has not the power to stop thy fury, remember, at least, that by means of thy endeavoring to bring Rome into chains, thy wife and children cannot avoid a speedy death, or a tedious servitude!”

By this time the appearance of Coriolanus began to change. His hatred and desire of revenge seemed to be yielding to the moving spectacle before him, but still he would not say a word.

“Why dost thou not answer me, my son?” cried again his mother. “Wilt thou not know thy mother? Hast thou forgotten the care I took of thy infancy? Canst thou, who makest war only to revenge thyself of the ingratitude of thy fellow-citizens, deny me the first favor I ever asked thee, without blackening thyself with the very same crime? If I required thee

to betray the Volsci, who have given thee so generous a reception, thou wouldst have just cause to reject such a proposal. But I only desire thee to withdraw thy troops from Rome; allow us a truce for a year, that in this interval measures may be taken to procure a solid peace. Grant this, my son, I conjure thee by Jupiter, all-good and all-powerful, who presides at the capitol, by the manes of thy father and of thy ancestors! If my prayers and tears are not able to move thee, behold thy mother at thy feet, imploring of thee the preservation of her country!" And bursting into tears, she embraced his knees. His wife and children, and all the Roman ladies, falling down before him, begged him to have mercy upon their beloved city.

"What is it that you do, my mother?" cried Coriolanus, stooping down to raise her from the ground. "Rome is saved, but your son is lost! Farewell, farewell forever!" and then embracing her, and his wife and children, he moved slowly towards his tent.

On the following day he called a council of war, and, no one presuming to contradict his opinion, it was decided that the army should return home to Antium. Without delay the march began; but they had no sooner entered

the gates of the city than the cry was raised that Coriolanus had turned a traitor to the interests of the Volsci. He demanded a trial by a general council of the nation ; but Tullus, the governor, jealous of his exploits, and fearing his eloquence as much as his valor, raised a tumult, and, by means of agents previously instructed, caused him to be stabbed.

Thus fell this remarkable man, though it was evidently without the approbation of the Volsci, for they assembled in great multitudes from the neighboring cities to do him honor at his burial, and upon his tomb they placed garlands and spoils of war.

At Rome the report of his death was received with neither favor nor resentment. The women all went into mourning for him for the space of ten months, the longest period for wearing habiliments of grief.

THE DECEMVIRS.

FROM 485 TO 446 B. C.

THE Agrarian Law—Increasing power of the Tribunes—Efforts to pacify the People—Proposition to establish fixed Laws—Conduct of Quintius Ceso—Cincinnatus created Dictator—Commissioners sent to Greece—Decemvirs appointed—Their powers—Appius Claudius—The Ten Tables—Conduct of the Decemvirs—Their Tyranny—War with the Sabines—Defeat of the Romans—Story of Siccius Dentatus—Story of Virginia—The Decemvirate abolished—Death of Appius



DEATH OF VIRGINIA.

V.

THE DECEMVIRS.

It is not surprising that some ambitious individual should take advantage of the dissensions between the plebeians and the patricians to promote his own selfish ends, and, accordingly, we find one Sp. Cassius Viscellinus endeavoring in this way to obtain the royalty so solemnly proscribed by the law. A patrician by birth, and a consul, he sought, by gaining the affection of the plebeians, to accomplish his designs. To this end he proposed, in order to put the poor citizens upon some equality with the rich, and enable them to subsist, that the lands taken from their enemies in war, and which had been given to the patricians, should be equally divided among the people. And this was the famous *Agrarian law*, which made so much trouble during many following years. This law, of course, met immediate opposition from the patricians, and such was the

expectation of Cassius; but the Tribunes, jealous that a patrician should undertake to rise through the favor of the people, succeeded in bringing about his death.

The subject of dividing the public lands among the people was not, however, forgotten, and a law was obtained from the Senate providing for the appointment of commissioners, who should proceed with the partition of these lands, and set up landmarks, that might put a stop to all usurpations for the future. Still, few were found among those having influence or power who dared to move in the matter, and it remained for a long time unagitated. At length, however, one of the Tribunes, Cn. Genutius, publicly cited the two consuls to nominate the commissioners, and to proceed in the partition of the lands; and so boldly was he sustained by the people in his demands, that the Senate finally fixed a day for the decision of this vexatious matter. But on the night preceding this day, Genutius was found dead in his bed, without the least marks of poison or any other violence. His body was laid out in the Forum, and the report was circulated that the gods, disapproving his enterprise, had put an end to his life. Thus the Agrarian law was again silenced for a long time.

The contest between the plebeians and the patricians continued with little abatement; and the death of Genutius was rather an incentive to activity than a motive to despair. While the consuls every year incurred only the hatred of the people, the Tribunes, studying to gain their applause, aimed at sharing with the Senate and patricians the wealth, the dignities, and the magistracies of the Republic. The power of the Tribunes occasionally rose so high that the consuls fled before them; thus the consul Appius, opposing vehemently the Agrarian law, was so furiously attacked by them, that he went into exile, or, as some historians say, put an end to his life.

There was not however wanting, among the patricians, some who would occasionally, from benevolence or ambition, put themselves at the head of the common people. The desire on the part of the plebeians to have houses and homes was too reasonable and too simple to be resisted; and it would have been strange enough, had no one, either from selfishness or kindness, advocated their cause. During the consulship of Tib. Emelius and Q. Fabius, twenty years after the Agrarian law was first mooted, a strong effort was made to satisfy the people by furnishing them with lands. Eme-

lius stoutly averred that it was impossible to maintain peace and union among the citizens of a free State, unless the lands taken from their enemies were fairly divided between the rich and the poor. He obstinately persisted upon the publication of the Agrarian law, and was ably sustained by some of the older senators ; but most of them complained that he was desirous of gaining popularity by distributing property which did not belong to him. Discord was likely to follow, when Fabius, his colleague, proposed that the city of Antium, whose inhabitants had been recently destroyed by war, should be given to the poorer people of Rome. Three citizens were named to make the establishment of this colony ; but when the people were called to give their names to these persons, few appeared, so strong was their attachment for Rome, and so little inclination had they to give up its games, its spectacles, its public assemblies, and its business.

At this time Rome had no fixed laws, nor any constant form of administering justice. The will of its kings had been, at first, its law, and the consuls and Senate succeeding to their power, succeeded likewise to the same right of dispensing justice. Not long, then, after the attempt to found a colony at Antium, a certain

Proposition to establish fixed Laws.

Tribune, named Terentillus Arsa, undertook to signalize his tribunate by proposing the establishment of laws fixed and determined, for the Senate to be governed by in the judgments they should pass between man and man. These laws were to be proposed by ten commissioners, half of whom should be patricians and half plebeians. The proposition was met with a great deal of opposition on the part of the Senate and the patricians, and meetings were repeatedly held, but to no purpose. At length, however, the Tribunes determined to bring the matter to an issue, and convened the people for the purpose of naming their commissioners. While the business was in progress, Quintius Ceso, son of Quintius Cincinnatus, a consul, rushed into the crowd, knocked down or dispersed all that were in the way, and by means of the uproar which he raised, broke off the assembly, notwithstanding all that the Tribunes could do to keep them together.

Ceso was much applauded by the senators and patricians, but his conduct was so offensive to the Tribunes that he was summoned to appear before an assembly of the people. His father, Cincinnatus, as well as his friends and relations, did all in their power to save him; but the people were so exasperated by his con-

Conduct of Quintius Ceso.

duct, as well as by the discreditable stories which were related concerning him, that they were determined to condemn Ceso to death. The witnesses, however, by whom they were to condemn him, not being present, it was deemed advisable to commit him to prison until such time as he could be tried; but this proceeding having been discussed, it was agreed that ten citizens should be bound for his forthcoming on the day when he was to be tried, or pay such fine as should be determined upon between the Senate and the Tribunes. Ceso did not, however, dare to appear before the people, but, departing that very night from Rome, went to Tuscany. The fine was exacted with so much rigor from his bondsmen, that his illustrious father, obliged to sell his estates, retired to a few acres of land, which he cultivated with his own hands in order to procure a subsistence.

Not long after this a war broke out between the Romans on the one hand, and the Sabines and the *Æqui* on the other. The two consuls, at the head of their respective armies, went out to receive the invaders. Nautius, who attacked the Sabines, met with great success; but, while he was pursuing them with a terrible slaughter, his colleague Minutius was pushed into such

Cincinnatus created Dictator.

straits by the Æqui, that it became necessary to dispatch messengers to Rome for relief. It was found indispensable under these circumstances to create a Dictator, and L. Quintius Cincinnatus having been named for this high office, a deputation was sent to bring him from his little farm. Dropping the handle of his plough, he girded on his sword, and at the end of sixteen days succeeded in scattering far and wide the enemies of his country. The Senate, in gratitude for his services, would have bestowed upon him the richest of the spoils of war, but, refusing every thing of the kind, he returned at once to the occupations of his little farm.

But the sympathies of Cincinnatus were with the patricians; he even recommended the increase of the number of the Tribunes, urging that dissensions would thereby be more easily sown among them; and such was undoubtedly true, though the Tribunes seemed more especially eager to ruin the consuls and the nobility. A constant union was, however, maintained between the Tribunes and the plebeians, and for five successive years the same Tribunes were elected and re-elected. The proposition of Terentillus Arsa for a code of fixed law was not forgotten, but was now continually urged

Commissioners sent to Greece.

upon the Senate, who took every means to delay and defeat it. To this end, among other things, it was proposed that three commissioners be sent to Athens, to examine such of the laws of Solon as were most popular among the Greeks, making choice of those most suitable for the present constitution of the Roman Republic. These commissioners were appointed, and during their absence the city was comparatively free from the dissensions which usually prevailed. But they had no sooner returned than the Tribunes and people began to clamor for the appointment of the Decemvirs, who were to be employed upon the great work of fixing a body of laws for the government of the commonwealth. Every effort was made by the consuls to defer the appointment of these persons; and one of them even feigned, for some time, to be sick, in order that he might not be importuned in the matter. By the artfulness, however, of the Tribunes, the appointment of the Decemvirs was finally achieved; but the design of Terentillus was not fully carried out, for five of them should have been chosen from among the plebeians, which was not done. These Decemvirs consisted of Appius Claudius, T. Genutius, L. Sestius, Veturius, C. Julius, A. Manlius, S. Sulpitius, P. Cu-

ratius, T. Romilius, and Sp. Posthumius. The powers conferred upon them were enormous. All other officers were suspended from their functions while the Decemvirate continued; and even the common liberties of the people seemed to be at the disposal of these new magistrates.

Though Appius Claudius was the first one chosen, he assumed no authority above his colleagues, but seemed, on the contrary, to aim at becoming as popular as possible. The meanest plebeian was sure to receive from him a salutation, and all the business intrusted to him was transacted with the utmost promptness.

Each of these Decemvirs presided in his turn one whole day, when he was entitled to the twelve lictors, who walked before him with the fasces. Their manner of dispensing justice was so agreeable to the people, that the Tribunes were almost entirely forgotten; and many prayed that the gods would continue a government so full of moderation.

During the year which succeeded their appointment, the Decemvirs labored faithfully upon the compilation of the laws, which they gathered partly from the ancient decrees of the kings of Rome, and partly from the laws of Greece. Having completed their work, they

The Ten Tables—The Ambition of Appius Claudius.

proposed it in ten tables, some of them relating to the concerns of religion, others to the public rights, and the greater part to private persons. These laws were submitted to the people, and received their unanimous approbation, though, in the opinion of some persons, several regulations were wanting which, if added, would render the body of the Roman law complete. This opinion becoming very general, it created a desire to make another election of Decemvirs for one year more ; and the Senate glad thus to get rid of the Tribunes, and the people glad to be free from the consuls, the thing was done.

The day was fixed for the election, and among the senators there were, of course, many who aspired to the dignity of the office. Appius, however, pretended that, having labored in it assiduously for a whole year, he was willing that any one should now occupy his place. But when the day arrived, he succeeded not only in procuring his own election, but the election of six other senators least esteemed in the whole body, and what was still more surprising, of three plebeians. Throwing off then the fine mask which he had worn during the previous year, he represented to his colleagues that there was nothing more easy than for them to retain the sovereign power during their

whole lives. To this end he marked out a course of conduct, and established rules, which they all promised with the most solemn oaths to observe.

On the first day upon which these new officers came into power, they appeared in public, each with twelve lictors, who drove the people from the streets before them, striking with terror all whom they met. The greatest indignation of course prevailed, and the citizens complained that, instead of two consuls, they now had ten kings reigning over them. Nor were these complaints confined to the plebeians, but the patricians made them also, although the latter determined to take advantage of the resignation of the Decemvirs whenever it should occur. Many of them, however, left the city.

Agreeably to the haughty manner in which these Decemvirs made their first appearance, they began to reign in the most imperious and despotic way. Bands of wicked men, in hopes of rewards, were always ready to help them in their base designs; and even among the young patricians there were many who, preferring licentiousness to liberty, did not blush to become the servants and accomplices of these terrible men. There was no safety in Rome for beauty and virtue; and the property of honest citizens

Their Tyranny—Rome threatened from abroad.

was daily plundered, while the unfortunate sufferers were unable to procure the least relief. If any one was bold enough to express his indignation at such a government, these tyrants ordered him to be beaten as a slave; some were even put to death, and confiscation was a common occurrence.

Hope began to spring up in the breasts of the people as the time drew near when the reign of these terrible men should cease according to law. But the year came to a close without any appearance of an assembly of the people for an election. The tyrants, in fact, now boldly proclaimed that they should retain the government, if necessary, by force and violence; and, many of the citizens going into voluntary exile, Rome seemed destined to destruction. Its foreign enemies no longer remained quiet, and even the nations owing it allegiance despised the orders that were sent to them, as if they were unwilling to submit to a people that had lost their own liberty.

The *Æqui* and the *Sabines*, ever ready to show their enmity to Rome, raised two large armies and marched against it. The *Decemvirs*, seeing themselves thus compelled to defend the city, sought the aid of the Senate and people, and, after a great deal of difficulty, ar-

War with the *Æqui* and *Sabines*—Romans defeated.

mies were raised and placed under their command. Appius, confiding them to his colleagues, sent them forth against the enemy; whilst he, with a body of troops, remained to maintain his authority against the enemy at home.

It could not be supposed that men who had been shamefully deprived of their liberty, and abused in every imaginable way, would fight well for those who had occasioned all their sufferings; and we accordingly find that the Roman armies engaged in this war, were in a short time completely routed and driven back into their own territory. But the news of the defeat was received at Rome with as much joy, as, at another time, would have been testified at a victory. Every one said that it was not wonderful that the armies of the Republic should be unsuccessful under the command of usurpers; and while some called for consuls, others proposed that a Dictator should be chosen.

Siccus Dentatus, an old plebeian, who had fought in a hundred and twenty battles, went about denouncing in the severest terms the Decemvirs as the cause of this misfortune; and into so much contempt did he throw them, that the soldiers would scarcely give heed to their

Siccius Dentatus—His Defence against his Murderers.

commands. The discontent, indeed, became so general, that an open revolt seemed almost inevitable.

But Appius, provided for such an event, sent provisions and recruits to his colleagues, and bid them, at the same time, to punish in the most rigorous manner all those who gave any evidence of mutiny. Resolving also to be revenged upon Siccius, he pretended to have great respect for his experience as a soldier, and engaged him to go and assist the generals with his counsels.

The old soldier, sincerely desiring to serve his country, and unsuspecting of the cunning Decemvir, set out at once for the camp, where, according to previous instructions from Appius, he was received with every appearance of joy and respect. But the secret agents of Appius, contriving to get him out of the camp into a lonely place, fell upon him with their swords. The hero of a hundred and twenty battles was not, however, to be slain without a struggle. Placing his back against a rock, in order to prevent an attack from behind, he defended himself with so much skill that several of them were killed, while others were terribly wounded. The villains, however, bent upon the accomplishment of their purpose, climbed

Appius suspected of causing his Death.

up to the top of the rock, and thence beat him on the head with stones. Then going into the camp, these heartless ruffians said that they had fallen into an ambush, in which Siccus and some of their comrades had been slain. The story was at first believed; but some of the soldiers, who regarded Siccus as a father, went out to seek his corpse. They found it; but they found also that those who were slain with him were all Romans; and what surprised them more was, that none of them had been stripped of their arms or clothes, and that the slain all lay with their faces towards him. Besides this, there were no footsteps indicating the retreat of any who might have been supposed to attack them.

All these things made them suspect that Siccus had been murdered; and it was very natural for them to suppose that the act was committed at the instigation of Appius. This suspicion was confirmed by the fact that when the army demanded the punishment of the assassins, they were nowhere to be found, having been assisted in making their escape. These suspicions were reported at Rome, where the citizens and soldiers, the Senate and the people, all cried out against so infamous a deed. But ere Rome could be free from the yoke of Ap-

Appius attracted by Virginia.

pius, he was to fill up the measure of his tyrannies by a deed still more odious and horrible than the murder of Siccus.

While the armies were engaged in the war, it was the custom of this brutal Decemvir to administer justice in the Forum, where, at stated seasons, he sat to receive those who required his services. From the position which he occupied, he could easily perceive all who passed to and fro, either upon their business or their pleasure; and it is not difficult to admit that his mind was not so completely occupied with the interest of his fellow-citizens, as to prevent his eyes from being sometimes wickedly engaged.

Seated one day in his usual place, he chanced to spy a beautiful girl, of about fifteen years, who, under the charge of an attendant, was passing through the Forum on her way to school. Struck with her appearance, he immediately inquired her name and condition, and ascertained that she was a plebeian; that her father was one Virginius, a centurion in the army then engaged in the war; that her own name was Virginia, and that she was engaged to be married to Icilius, lately one of the Tribunes.

Such a story had little in it to encourage his

Virginia claimed as a Slave by Claudius.

passion; for even if Appius had not been a married man, the laws of the Twelve Tables forbade all alliances between the patricians and the plebeians, and he very soon discovered that Virginia was proof against any dishonest purpose which he might cherish towards her. Determined, however, to get her into his possession, he had recourse to M. Claudius, one of the numerous scoundrels whom he kept in his employ.

This man having one day followed Virginia, discovered the school to which she belonged; and after waiting a short time at the door, entered, and taking the unsuspecting girl by the hand, attempted by force to drag her to his own house, under pretence that she was the daughter of one of his slaves. Overwhelmed with confusion, Virginia could defend herself only by her tears; but the witnesses of the transaction, moved by the sight, ran to her assistance, and put a stop to the proceeding of Claudius. The villain asserted that he meant to use no violence, but simply to take possession of his own property, to which he was certainly entitled, wherever he might find it; and he challenged all those who denied his right, to appear with him before the Decemvir Appius, where he would lead Vir-

Virginia carried before Appius.

ginia, and prove abundantly that she was his slave.

Some of the people, who knew both the girl and her father, and others, moved only by curiosity, followed to the Forum, where Claudius stated his case before a judge who was himself the author of the villany. He said that Virginia had been born in his own house, and that her mother had secretly sold her to the wife of Virginius, who now made her pass for his own daughter. He offered also to produce undeniable testimony of the truth of his assertions, but claimed that until the matter could be decided, it was but just that she should accompany him as her master; and at the same time signified his willingness to give good security for her appearance, if Virginius, at his return, still pretended to be her real father.

Numitorius, her uncle, who had been informed of what had taken place, had by this time reached the Forum. Without much difficulty he discovered the plot that had been laid by the unprincipled Appius; but, concealing his suspicions, he simply claimed that, as the uncle of the girl, he was entitled to her guardianship until the appearance of her father, and asked that the case might be postponed for two days, by which time he thought that Vir-

Attempt of her Uncle to save her.

ginius might be brought from the camp. So just a demand could not fail to gain the approval of the assembly; but Appius declared that, however willing he might be to deliver the girl into the hands of any one claiming to be her father, he could not with justice give her up to a person asserting himself to be her uncle; and that, under the circumstances, he was compelled to place her in the custody of Claudius, who should give security to produce her again at the return of her reputed father.

Such an unjust decree aroused the indignation of the whole assembly, and murmurs and complaints arose on every side. The women who were present gathered around Virginia with tears in their eyes, and declared that she should not be delivered into the hands of Claudius. But this cruel monster, regardless of their entreaties, was attempting to force her away, when Icilius, to whom she was promised in marriage, rushed into the Forum, maddened by the reports which had now reached his ears.

Regardless of all danger, he flung himself into the presence of the haughty Decemvir, and shaking his clenched hand in his very face, cried out—"Thou shalt tear my life from me, before thou shalt enjoy the fruit of thy vile artifices and insupportable tyranny. Is it not

enough that thou hast deprived us of the two strongest bulwarks of our liberty, the protection of our Tribunes, and the right of appeal to the assembly of the people? Cannot the honor of the Roman maidens be safe with thee? Know, tyrant, that Virginia is betrothed to me, and that I expect to marry a virgin, and one free born. If, in the absence of her father, any attempt is allowed to do her violence, I will implore the aid of the Roman people for my wife; Virginius will demand assistance of all his fellow-soldiers for his daughter, and both gods and men will be on our side. But though I had not a man to assist me, justice and virtuous love will give me sufficient power to prevent the execution of thy unjust sentence!"

Such passionate language moved every one in his behalf, and Claudius was driven to take refuge at the feet of Appius. Multitudes of people flocked into the Forum, and the Decemvir, fearing an open revolt, thought fit to revoke his decree and to give Virginia her freedom, on condition that Icilius should give security for her appearance on the morrow.

Without a moment's delay, Appius dispatched a secret messenger to his colleagues who commanded the army, begging them to arrest Virginius, upon some pretence or other,

or at least not to permit him to return to Rome. In this way, he still hoped that he should be able to deliver Virginia into the hands of Claudius. But his messenger reached the camp too late; Virginius had been promptly apprised of his daughter's danger, and had obtained leave of absence from the camp before the arrival of the messengers of Appius. Every effort was, however, made to overtake him, and prevent him from getting back to Rome, but it was all in vain. Prompted by a father's love, he flew as on the wings of the wind, and before the bloodhounds dispatched in pursuit of him had scented his track, he was locked in the arms of his unhappy daughter.

With a bleeding heart he went to the Forum on the following day, leading Virginia by the hand. A crowd of people had already assembled, to whom Icilius was loudly declaiming against the tyranny and baseness of the Decemvir. But the youth, the beauty, and innocence of Virginia moved the multitude more than all the complaints and entreaties of her family; and Appius, hearing of the strong feeling that had been excited against him, ordered a body of troops to be sent to the Forum for his protection. Then repairing thither himself, and taking possession of his tribunal, he

Trial before Appius.

called upon the villain Claudius to open his demand, and to proceed in his action.

Claudius, of course, began by claiming Virginia as his slave, and offered to prove his pretensions by a dozen witnesses. Having permission to produce these witnesses, he brought immediately upon the stand a female slave, who, for a bribe, swore that Virginia was her own daughter, and that she had sold her to the wife of Virginius, who wished to bring her up as her own child.

"If the evidence of this woman is not sufficient," said Claudius, "I will adduce still further proof; but I hope that justice will not be denied to me on account of the threats of this Icilius, or the clamors of these pretended relatives."

But the friends of Virginia brought witnesses who had known her from the very moment of her birth, and who had seen her when a babe upon her mother's bosom. Nothing, indeed, could be made more clear, than the fact that Claudius was a base impostor, and that Virginia was the victim of a foul conspiracy.

Observing the effect produced by the witnesses of Virginius upon the multitude, Appius stopped the proceedings, and addressing the assembly, said: "Be it known to you, O

Romans! that I am not ignorant of the facts connected with this case. It is true, that during the whole life of this maiden, Claudius has not until yesterday claimed her as his slave; but this does not in any wise diminish his right to do so now. Everybody knows that Claudius' father, at his death, left me guardian of his son. Soon afterwards, I was told that, as such, I ought to reclaim this young slave, as part of his succession; and I then heard the evidence which has this day been given in your hearing. Every thing conspired to hinder me in the performance of my duty; but the post I now occupy will not allow me to refuse him the justice which I owe to every man, and I therefore decree that the plaintiff take home the girl as his slave."

Wrought up to the highest pitch of madness by such an unjust sentence, Virginius placed his arm around his child, and turning to the cruel Decemvir, he shouted: "Know, O Appius! I did not educate my daughter for such a hideous wretch as thou! I gave her to Icilius, and thou shalt never call her thine. What! shall it be said of Romans, that they are so degraded as to yield tamely their wives and daughters to beasts like thee?"

A thousand clamors now filled the air; and

Virginius slays his Daughter.

Appius, maddened by the exposure of his crime, and fearing too for the safety of his life, was obliged to order his soldiers and his lictors to drive the people from the Forum.

Virginius, perceiving then that it was impossible for him to save his daughter, begged of Claudius that he would allow him to have a moment's conversation with her in private. The request was granted, on condition that she should not be taken out of the Forum.

Pierced to the heart he clasps the stricken maiden in his arms; he wipes away the tears which bathe her face, and, drawing her closer and closer to his bosom, removes her slowly from the tribunal, as if in search of some quiet place where, undisturbed, he may whisper in her ear. Approaching one of the little shops that opened in the Forum, he spies a butcher's knife. Reaching out his hand he takes it unperceived, and pressing Virginia to his heart with still more tenderness than ever, he exclaims: "My dearest child, this is the only way to save thy honor and thy liberty." With these words he plunges the knife into her bosom, and then drawing it out all reeking with her blood, he rushes to the tribunal of the tyrant, and holding up the knife to the terrified monster, shrieks into his ears: "It is with

Appius driven from the Forum.

this innocent blood, O Appius, that I devote thy head to the infernal gods!"

Loud shrieks now fill the Forum; and Appius, trembling for his life, calls upon his soldiers to seize Virginius and disarm him. But the brave centurion, brandishing his weapon, bids them all defiance; and, opening a passage through the crowd, reaches the city gate, and flies directly to the camp.

It was a terrible day for Appius and his brutal colleagues. Crowds of people flocked into the Forum from every part of Rome, and showed by their actions the fullest determination to avenge the death of Virginia. The desperate Appius called upon his guards to seize their leaders; but the people, now perfectly furious, drove them from the Forum, broke the fasces of the lictors, and chasing the tyrant himself from his tribunal, compelled him to take refuge in a neighboring house.

Virginius having reached the camp, with the bloody knife still in his hand, told the dreadful story to the soldiers. Raised to the highest pitch of madness, his comrades took up their arms, and, in spite of the threats of their generals, marched that very day to Rome. Their arrival in the city changed the tumult to an open rebellion, and, the Senate being con-

The Decemvirate abolished—Death of Appius.

vened, all the Decemvirs promised to abdicate their offices, if they might only be saved from the hatred of the people. An interrex was promptly chosen, and L. Valerius and M. Horatius were afterwards named as consuls.

In the course of a few days the excitement somewhat subsided. The people elected their Tribunes; the *Lex Valeria* was confirmed anew, and thus the innocent blood of the unfortunate Virginia, like that of Lucretia, procured the Roman people their liberty a second time. Appius was arraigned before the people to answer for his crimes; but being placed in prison to await his trial, he avoided punishment by taking his own life. His infamous accomplice, Marcus Claudius, was condemned to death. Through the intercession, however, of his powerful friends, Virginius consented that this sentence, though not too severe, should be changed to banishment.

THE DESTRUCTION OF ROME
BY THE GAULS.

FROM 446 TO 380 B. C.

THE Siege of Veii—Camillus made Dictator—Taking of Veii—Triumph of Camillus—Accusations brought against him—His Exile—Difficulties with the Gauls—Brennus marches against Rome—Rome abandoned to its Enemies—The City destroyed—Camillus undertakes to punish the Gauls—Bravery of Cominius—Attempt to take the Capitol—Singular Alarm—Fate of the Invaders—Inmates of the Capitol make offers to Brennus—The Gauls driven from Rome—Desolate Appearance of the City—Proposals to forsake it discussed—Determination to rebuild it—Jealousy of M. Manlius—His Imprisonment and Death.

VI.

THE DESTRUCTION OF ROME BY THE GAULS.

AFTER the extinction of the Decemvirate, and the death or expulsion of the Decemvirs, Rome, for a season, enjoyed comparative tranquillity. But it was not long before the old quarrels between the nobility and the people recommenced with almost as much violence as ever. "One would think," said the illustrious Quintius, "that Rome holds within her walls two different nations contending with each other for the command." Encouraged by their numerous triumphs, the people at length began to aspire to offices hitherto held only by the patricians, and demanded also a repeal of the law that prohibited intermarriages between them.

Taking advantage of these continual strifes, the neighboring nations, ever jealous of this powerful city, made incursions upon their ter-

The Siege of Veil

ritory, and threatened them with evils still greater than they were suffering by their civil contentions. Among the boldest of their enemies were the Æqui and the Volsci, whose armies came to the very gates of Rome. But they were driven away as often as they made themselves subjects of alarm.

The most insolent and provoking treatment which they received, came, however, from the Veientes, who drove away with contempt the ambassadors sent to them to demand reparation. These people, occupying the city of Veii, one of the strongest and wealthiest in Italy, were enemies that the Romans might take great pride in subduing; and the flagrant offence recently committed by them, was sufficient to justify the severest proceedings on the part of Rome.

The siege of Veii was accordingly resolved upon, and a large army was collected and sent against it. But the place being almost impregnable, it was a long time before the Romans gained any perceptible advantage. Indeed they suffered so much from the sallies made from the city, that they were sometimes on the point of giving it up entirely. It was, however, determined that the military tribunes in command of the Roman forces should be re-

called, and that the conduct of the siege should be committed to M. Furius Camillus, a general of great valor and extraordinary capacity.

That he might have every possible advantage, Camillus was raised to the dignity of Dictator, and the army was greatly and rapidly increased by men of every rank, whom, by the lustre of his name, he drew around him. Marching to Veii he went vigorously to work, with the hope that he might be able to carry the town by assault or open force; but finding that he should not succeed in this way, he had recourse to mining and sapping. By dint of a great deal of labor, his soldiers dug a subterraneous passage, under the walls, to the very centre of the place; and then emerging from the ground, spread themselves throughout the town. The Veientes, wholly unsuspecting of such an attack, and having all their forces near the walls, found themselves suddenly overwhelmed by the enemy. It was in vain for them to resist; and the Roman soldiers, cutting down all whom they found in arms, plundered the city.

The news of this achievement was received at Rome with demonstrations of the greatest joy. The temples were crowded with grateful worshippers, and four days were set apart for a

public thanksgiving to the gods. Camillus himself, returning with his victorious army, entered the city in a stately chariot, drawn by four milk-white horses. Such parade was not wholly agreeable to the people, who had not seen so much pomp since the expulsion of their kings.

A proposition was immediately made by T. Sicinius Dentatus, Tribune of the people, to make a second Rome of the city of Veii, by sending one-half of the Senate, knights, and people to dwell there. But this proposition met with general opposition from the patricians, with Camillus at their head; and when submitted to the decision of the people was promptly rejected.

The kindly feeling of the people towards Camillus was not destined to be of long duration. It seems that this great general, when engaged in the siege of Veii, had vowed that if success attended his arms, he would consecrate the tenth part of the booty to Apollo. But in the confusion of victory he forgot his vow; and his conscience being troubled upon the recollection of it, he sought, through the aid of the Senate, to compel the soldiers to return a tenth part of their booty, in order that he might fulfil his vow. The soldiers, unwilling to give up their

spoils, raised a clamor, and declared that he was leagued with the patricians to keep the people always in indigence. He was even accused of having embezzled, out of the pillage of Veii, certain brass gates that were seen in his house, and was summoned to answer to the charge before an assembly of the people.

Mortified by such an accusation, he appealed to his friends for protection; but being told by them that they could do nothing more than pay the fine that might be imposed upon him, he declared that he would rather banish himself from Rome than answer to such an infamous charge. Going, accordingly, to his house, he embraced his wife and children, and, attended by only two or three friends, went to the gate of the city, where, turning towards the capitol, he prayed the gods that his ungrateful countrymen might quickly repent the outrageous manner in which they had repaid his services; and that their calamities might compel them to recall him. And shortly after this, a misfortune came upon Rome, greater than any which it had hitherto suffered.

About two hundred years previous to this event, the Gauls, one of the most numerous nations of Europe, had migrated in large bodies to Italy, where they established a number of

Brennus marches against Rome.

very powerful settlements. Milan, Verona, and Padua, cities which subsist at the present day, are said to have been founded by them; and at the very time when Camillus was engaged in besieging Veii, these barbarians, as they were called, were endeavoring to strengthen themselves by the acquisition of Tuscany. The city of Clusium, on the very verge of falling into their hands, sought aid from the Romans, who, accordingly, sent three ambassadors to Brennus, leader of the Gauls, with instructions to effect a reconciliation between him and the people of Clusium.

These ambassadors, thinking themselves uncivilly treated by Brennus, went to the city of Clusium, under pretence of conferring with its magistrates, and stirred them up to a vigorous resistance. A report of their proceedings coming to the ears of Brennus, he sent a herald to Rome, who demanded that these ambassadors should be delivered up to him. But the affair being referred to the people, it was resolved that the ambassadors should be sustained in what they had done, and an army was immediately raised to resist the Gauls, if they attempted to attack the city.

Brennus became so enraged on account of these proceedings, that, removing his troops

from Clusium, he marched directly to Rome. The inhabitants of the country fled before him; and the towns and villages in his path were completely deserted. But Rome was the object of his wrath, and he was determined on nothing less than its total destruction. More or less anxiety prevailed, naturally, in the city, at the report of his approach; but with forty thousand troops it was hoped that the invader might be put to flight.

The Roman armies, accordingly, went out to meet the barbarians. They went out boldly, too, headed by their six military tribunes, young men of far greater valor than capacity. Near the river Allia, a half-day's journey from Rome, the hostile armies met. They were, at once, drawn out in battle array. To guard themselves against being surrounded, the Romans extended their wings, placing their veteran troops upon the right and left, and leaving their centre in a very weak condition. The Gauls discovering this, directed their main strength against this feebly defended point, and, breaking through the cohorts that occupied it, made a complete division of the enemy's army. Confounded by such a movement, the Romans, without even drawing their swords, fled in every direction. Some rushed with all

Rome abandoned to its Enemies.

speed into the neighboring city of Veii; others, in hope of escape, plunged into the river Tiber; and a few, too swift-footed for their pursuers, contrived to make their way to Rome, where, of course, they carried terror and consternation. The Senate supposing that the whole army had been cut to pieces, and expecting that the Gauls would immediately effect an entrance into the city, retreated to the capitol, where they collected, for its defence, all the strength remaining in the city. Here, too, they brought whatever provisions they could gather; but the women, children, and all such as were incapable of rendering efficient aid, were excluded and compelled to shelter themselves from the enemy as well as they could. Some took refuge in the neighboring fields, and others fled to the adjacent towns. There were, however, among the old senators and priests, a good many who disdained to take advantage of a shelter which was denied to the weak and helpless, and who were, moreover, determined to sacrifice their lives rather than abandon a city where they had spent all their years. These venerable men, dressing themselves in their priestly and consular robes, and assuming their various emblems of office, seated themselves in the open doors of their respective dwellings, re-

solved to submit to whatever treatment the enemy might give them.

Two or three days, however, elapsed before the Gauls had sufficiently recovered from the rejoicings attending their victory to enable them to proceed to Rome. And when they came, the gates were wide open to receive them, and not an object stirring in the streets. Such an unexpected sight very naturally filled them with suspicion; and passing within the walls, they looked cautiously to the right and to the left, fearing that some plan had been devised by which to bring about their destruction.

Advancing along the once busy streets they gained more confidence; but what was the astonishment of these barbarians as they observed here and there a solitary, gray-bearded man, dressed in costly robes, and seated at the door of his dwelling in a magnificent chair of ivory. The soldiers stopped and gazed in awe upon these venerable figures, who neither spoke nor moved, but, with eyes bent upon the ground, seemed unconscious of the passing crowd. Some approached them to admire their splendid robes and flowing beards, but, apparently, no one dared to touch them. At last one soldier, more curious and more impudent than the others, plucked the beard of one of these venera-

The Destruction of Rome.

ble men. Raising his ivory wand, he gave the soldier a blow which sent him reeling to a distance. Enraged to the highest pitch, the soldier returned, and with one blow of his axe felled the aged Roman to the ground.

As the army advanced through the streets, the old priests and senators, seated in their chairs, were now slain, one by one; and of all the inhabitants of Rome none were left alive within its walls, except those who were determined to defend the capitol. Thither Brennus hastened with his victorious troops. But in vain did he call upon its tenants to surrender. Nature had provided them with ramparts which bade defiance to his utmost efforts, and, in order to conquer, he was forced to starve his victims in their stronghold. He could, however, revenge himself for their obstinacy, and accordingly turned his soldiers loose to pillage and destroy every thing around them. The fire-brand was applied to the palaces of the patricians and the humbler dwellings of the plebeians. The sacred temples and the public edifices were razed to the ground; and in a short time the great city of Rome, famous throughout all Italy, and lately the terror of surrounding nations, was nothing but a mass of unsightly rubbish. Encamped amid its bro-

ken columns and smouldering ruins was Brennus, with his army, anxiously waiting until famine should terminate his work, by forcing the inmates of the capitol to throw themselves into his power.

But the soldiers of Brennus could not all sit idly around the capitol. By leave of their commander, they wandered in parties, here and there, about the country, preserving neither order nor discipline in any of their proceedings, for, being the masters of Rome, they fancied that the whole region was under their subjection.

Camillus, an exile in Ardea, not far distant, was a silent spectator of what was going on. It is true that he esteemed himself a great sufferer at the hands of his fellow-citizens, but the calamities of his country affected him more than any evils that he had himself endured; and striving nobly to forget his own wrongs, he undertook to redress those of his enemies.

For a warrior of his renown, it was no difficult task to find enough ready to follow where he should lead; and, with the consent of the magistrates of Ardea, he sallied forth one night, with a band of well-armed youth, and surprised a large body of Gauls, who had been recklessly indulging in wine. The slaughter

Camillus undertakes to punish the Gauls.

was terrible indeed, and the appearance of those who escaped only served to inspire the fugitive Romans, lurking here and there, with hope. They started from their hiding-places, and ran together from every quarter, to inquire who it was that had risen up to deliver Rome from her invaders. And when they learned that it was Camillus, their great general, whom they had compelled to go into exile, they began to condemn themselves, and eagerly running to him, proclaimed their penitence, and begged him to lead them on against the Gauls. Camillus told them that he would willingly serve his country, but that he was an exile, and incapacitated from holding the command of his country's armies. But crowding more numerous every moment around him, they would not let him go. Still, he would not consent, until they promised first to send some one to Rome to know whether the capitol yet held out, and, in case it did, to take orders from the Senate, which was shut up within it.

This was a very difficult task to perform, but a young Roman named Pontius Cominius dared to undertake it. He passed through the enemy's ranks, and reaching the Capitoline Hill, clambered from rock to rock, scaling precipice after precipice, and, encountering a thousand

dangers, finally reached the capitol. Without a moment's delay, the Senate, hearing his report, with one voice, declared Camillus Dictator of Rome, and thus the poor exile was raised to the highest dignity of his country. But it was a dignity without any thing to support it. This imprisoned Senate could furnish him with neither money, nor arms, nor troops. To a soldier like Camillus, it was, however, of little consequence. The hero who had captured Veii, when it had withstood for ten years every force that could be brought against it, was able to find soldiers enough who counted it sufficient glory to follow wherever he might lead. They started up from every hill-side, and poured upon him from every city; and ere he could conclude upon any plan for delivering Rome, he found himself at the head of forty thousand soldiers.

In the mean time some of the troops of Brennus, rambling about the Capitoline Hill, discovered among the rocks the footsteps of the daring Pontius. Guessing at once that they might be the means of indicating some passage to the capitol, they traced them until they found out how this hitherto inaccessible place could be reached. These soldiers at once made known their discovery to Brennus, who, forming a plan to surprise the fortress, chose from his army a

number of youths accustomed to mountain life, and sent them out by night to takè the place. With great difficulty these bold fellows followed the tracks of the Roman Pontius, lending each other a helping hand, until they arrived at the foot of the wall, which on that side was built very low, because so craggy a place seemed safe from all attack.

Finding the sentinel asleep, these Gauls began to scale the wall, when some geese, consecrated to Juno, awakened by the noise, made a loud cackling; the sound, so unusual at midnight, aroused the suspicions of M. Manlius, a consular person, who immediately ran to the spot to ascertain the cause. It was impossible for him to mistake it, and it was equally impossible for the discovered invaders to retreat. Alone he faces the enemy, who, notwithstanding their number, must fight him at a fearful disadvantage. He cuts off the hand that is lifting a battle-axe to fell him; with his buckler he pushes another to the bottom of the precipice; again and again, he sends another tumbling headlong after, and clamoring as loudly as he can, succeeds at last in raising the garrison. No quarter is now given to the Gauls, who, finding it in vain to fly, are successively thrown into the abyss below.

As soon as the Romans in the capitol found themselves delivered from the great danger that had threatened them, they seized the sentinel who had so carelessly slept upon his post, and hurled him headlong from the rock; and, at the same time, they rewarded M. Manlius, who by his courage and vigilance had saved them. As the provisions of the garrison were becoming very scarce, each soldier presented him with half a pound of meal and a measure of wine.

It was not long before the Gauls themselves began to experience the inconvenience of scarcity almost as much as those whom they were besieging in the capitol. Hitherto they had procured their provisions by pillaging the surrounding country; but, through fear of the army of Camillus, they confined themselves more closely to the city, and thus the besiegers were, in turn, themselves besieged. By degrees they began to be fairly in want, and would have been glad enough could they have withdrawn honorably from the walls of Rome.

During this time, the Romans in the capitol did not know that their Dictator, Camillus, was working zealously for their delivery. Distressed by hunger, they resolved to enter into

negotiations with Brennus for the surrender of the capitol; and intrusted their interests to Sulpicius, a military tribune, who agreed with Brennus to give him a thousand pounds weight of gold, if he would immediately withdraw his army from the dominions of the Republic. According to agreement the gold was brought; but upon weighing it the Gauls made use of false balances. Such unfairness caused a murmur among the Romans; but Brennus, instead of redressing the abuse, pulled off his sword and belt, and threw them into the scale, already overcharged. Sulpicius, enraged at such an insult, asked him the meaning of his conduct. "What should it be," replied the barbarian, "but woe to the conquered?"

But Camillus, with his army, advancing with all speed, was now near Rome. Word having been sent to him that a treaty had been formed between the inmates of the capitol and the Gauls, and that the deputies of the former were now in conference with Brennus, he immediately took with him some of his principal officers, and set out in haste for the city. Reaching the place where Sulpicius and Brennus were contending about the gold, he was received with every mark of attention by the Roman deputies. Sulpicius at once made known

to him the unfair dealing of Brennus, and appealed to him for justice.

"Carry back this gold into the capitol," said Camillus to the deputies; "and you, Gauls, retire with your scales and weights. It is with steel alone that the Romans shall recover their country!"

Confounded by such haughty language, Brennus stood speechless for a moment, while the Gauls and the Roman deputies prepared to do the bidding of Camillus. At length he ventured to protest against the proceedings of Camillus, as a contravention of a treaty already concluded.

"I am Dictator of Rome," replied Camillus, "and who dares to determine an affair of such importance without my sanction? Away with your gold, your weights and balances!"

Brennus, recovering from his confusion, replied with as much haughtiness as Camillus, and the two chieftains separated, in order to decide their quarrel by an appeal to arms. Without the least delay, the army of Camillus advancing, dashed with fury upon the Gauls, who were promptly drawn out to meet them. Brennus at this time discovered his match in the leader of the Roman legions. His bravest troops fell back, notwithstanding the superiori-

The Gauls driven from Rome—Appearance of the City.

ty of their position. Rallying them as well as he could, he raised the siege, and retreated some miles from Rome. But Camillus was determined to punish him for the injuries sustained by Rome. He followed him in his retreat, slew almost all his soldiers, and recovered from them the rich spoils which they were carrying away.

Although delivered from its enemies, Rome was not, at this time, a place suitable for the accommodation of the many thousands who claimed it as their home. Scarcely a house was standing within its walls, and the walls themselves were, in many places, level with the ground. Under such circumstances, it was not strange that a proposition should be made and urged, to remove, in a mass, to the city of Veii, which was a well-fortified place, with stately buildings, and surrounded by a fruitful territory. The Tribunes advocated the plan with the greatest ardor, representing the difficulty which must attend any attempt to rebuild a city in the midst of such immense heaps of ruins. Besides, the people were exhausted by misfortunes, without strength, without money, and almost without provisions. But the Senate did not agree with the Tribunes, although their opposition was rather in the form of pray-

ers and entreaties. They showed the people the tombs of their ancestors; pointed to the spots consecrated to the gods by Romulus and Numa, and reminded them of the prophecies that Rome should become the mistress of the world. Camillus, too, was among the number of those who opposed the proposition to abandon Rome. "Consider," said he, "that by retiring to Veii, you will assume the name of a conquered people, and lose that of Romans, together with the glorious destiny which the gods have affixed to it, and which, with your name, will go to the first barbarians that shall get possession of the capitol, and who, by this change, may perhaps in time become your masters and your tyrants."

The words of Camillus acted like a charm on all. The prospect of future empire was far to be preferred, by the Romans, to the present conveniences of life. The Tribunes yielded. The people declared that they would not go to Veii; and every one falling to work, the rebuilding of the city went on with such rapidity, that in less than one year it assumed the same appearance which it presented on the arrival of the dreadful Brennus.

But scarcely had Rome thus arisen from its ashes, than its old enemies, the Tuscans, the

Jealousy of M. Manlius.

Æqui, and the Volsci, leagued together for the purpose of oppressing it. Camillus was again called to the Dictatorship; and, by his consummate ability as a general, succeeded in defeating their armies and compelling them to sue for mercy. In consequence of these and former services he became the idol of the people, who honored him with the title of Restorer of the Country and Second Founder of Rome.

Among the fellow-citizens of Camillus, there was one, however, who was unwilling to yield him all the glory accorded freely by the rest. This was Marcus Manlius, the brave soldier, who, with his single arm, had defended the capitol when about to be surprised by the Gauls at midnight. He could not bear to see Camillus preferred, before him, in the command of the armies; and, by his frequent speeches, he endeavored to blacken the character of a man who was admired and beloved by all. With the design, as was said, of promoting his ambitious aims, he began to flatter the people, and to impress them with the idea that he was friendly to their interests. He renewed the proposals for the division of the lands; he even sold his own to acquit the debts of the oppressed plebeians; he interfered between debtors and creditors, and was frequently instru-

Troubles again—Dictator created.

mental in rescuing from prison those whom poverty had sent there. These acts, it was asserted, sprang, not from benevolence, but from selfishness, his whole aim being to secure power through the aid of the lower classes. Whether this was true or not, it is certain that Manlius acquired numerous friends and supporters, who, not contented alone with bestowing upon him their praises, attended him often as a sort of guard.

In time, the patricians began to feel a good deal of uneasiness, and, the influence of Manlius becoming daily stronger and stronger, they deemed it necessary to resort to the usual remedy, which was to create a Dictator. This was done on pretence that the interests of Rome demanded an army to be sent against the Volsci. Cornelius Cossus was chosen Dictator. The Volsci were soon reduced to submission, and the Dictator, returning to Rome, summoned Manlius to appear before him. Manlius obeyed with promptness, attended by a concourse of his friends. Failing to satisfy the Dictator, when charged with engaging in various disorderly practices, he was committed to prison without making any other resistance than an appeal to the deities of the capitol, that they would protect their soldier and defender.

Manlius placed in Prison—His death.

The friends of Manlius, chiefly plebeians, in token of their sorrow, dressed themselves in mourning, and even uttered seditious murmuring. In order to appease them, they were offered lands belonging to one of the newly-conquered towns; but this did not succeed. The prison of Manlius was surrounded, night and day, by crowds of people, eager to effect his liberty; and, in order to prevent mischief, he was at length set free. But the evil practices of which he was accused, were still kept up, with the very designs urged as reasons for his arrest and imprisonment.

Camillus now, for the fifth time, became Dictator; and such a triumph of his rival could not be otherwise than tormenting to a soul like that of Manlius. He did not, of course, fail to testify his feelings; and his proceedings, whether legal or illegal, were sufficiently offensive to the patricians to bring upon him the charge of aspiring after royalty. Once more he was summoned to be tried, and the charges against him having been fully established, he was condemned, as is said, to be thrown from the Tarpeian rock—a spot which was at once the monument of his glory and his shame.

FOREIGN CONQUESTS.

FROM 380 TO 120 B. C.

CARTHAGE and its People—Ship-building among the Romans—First Naval Engagement—Expedition against Carthage—Regulus is taken Prisoner—His noble Conduct—Carthaginians beaten—Peace—The War renewed—Hannibal invades Italy—His March—His Success—Opposed by the Roman Armies—Artifice of Hannibal—Defeat of the Romans—Patriotism of Scipio—The Romans encouraged—Hannibal called Home—Misfortunes of Carthage—Its Fall—Tiberius and Caius Gracchus—Ambition—Agrarian Law—Designs of Tiberius defeated—His Artifice—His Death—Caius and Drusus—Death of Caius.

VII.

FOREIGN CONQUESTS.

It was almost five hundred years before the Romans had so far subdued the nations by which they were surrounded, as to think of spreading their conquests beyond the limits of Italy. But they no sooner felt themselves to be perfect masters of the countries near them, than they determined to carry their arms beyond the sea; and the first foreign war which they undertook was with Carthage, a rich and powerful city, on the coast of Africa.

The foundation of Carthage was laid about a hundred and thirty-seven years before that of Rome. All its citizens were merchants, and traffic was esteemed among them far above the profession of arms. The fleets of Carthage were, however, among the most powerful in the world, and no one doubted her superiority upon the sea, over which she had extended her dominion, quite to the coasts of Spain, and in the

The Romans engage in Ship-building.

islands of Sicily, Corsica, and Sardinia. But the conquests of Carthage were effected, chiefly, by the aid of foreign troops, and, in some cases, even under the command of hired generals. Rome, on the other hand, reared her own militia, and her officers were taken from among those who had been brought up to fight her battles.

A great sea lay between Rome and Carthage, and Rome had not a single ship to launch upon it, nor had she a single sailor or naval captain among all her legions. But her people were ingenious, diligent, and never discouraged by the greatest labors. When they had formed the resolution to gather glory and wealth beyond the waves, it was not long before they found the means of carrying this resolution into effect. Hitherto they had never paid the least attention to the construction of the vessels that accidentally, or otherwise, visited their coasts; but now, a Carthaginian galley having been driven to them by stress of weather, they seized upon it eagerly, and taking it for a model, built, within two months, a fleet sufficiently powerful to commence their enterprise against the great city, whose dominion upon the sea it was their intention to dispute. Their first naval engagement was successful, too; and

First naval Engagements.

their first naval commander, in honor of his achievements, was ever attended at night, during the remainder of his life, with flambeaux and music.

Encouraged by their early success, they increased, rapidly, their fleets, and spreading them over the sea, made themselves the masters of Agrigentum, and of the chief towns in that island; they took Aleria, the capital of Corsica, Olbia in Sardinia, and, finally, carried their victorious arms to the very gates of Carthage.

L. Manlius and Attilius Regulus commanded the first fleet that was sent to Carthage. It consisted of three hundred and forty ships, with a hundred and forty thousand troops. But before they reached their destination, the Carthaginians met them on the sea, with an equal armament. The struggle was a long and desperate one, the Carthaginians having the advantage of lighter vessels and better sailors. Fortune seemed uncertain where to choose; but the Roman vessels finally grappling with those of the Carthaginians, the fighting began foot to foot, and, as it were, on dry land. Then it was that the Romans got the better of their enemies. They fought like madmen, determined to conquer or to die. The Carthagin-

ians were slaughtered by hundreds and thousands. The sea was perfectly red with blood, and the bodies of the dead floated far and wide on every hand. Ship after ship was disabled and sunk, until the whole Carthaginian fleet was completely scattered.

The Romans obtaining, in this way, a free passage to the coast of Africa, succeeded in landing, and immediately began to ravage the country in a most terrible manner. In a short time Manlius sailed back to Italy, with twenty-seven thousand prisoners, while Regulus, according to the instructions of the Senate, continued his conquests. Success attended him wherever he went, until finally he brought his army to the walls of Carthage. By this time the city was crowded to overflowing by the terrified inhabitants of the surrounding country, who had fled thither for protection; and Regulus had not been long about the walls with his besieging army, before the Carthaginians began to experience all the terrors of famine and sickness.

The Carthaginians, relying but little upon their ability to cope with an enemy that had thus far beaten them by sea and land, were very desirous of entering into negotiations; and Regulus himself, contented with his vic-

tories, was not averse to it. But as he held Carthage completely in his power, he felt that he had a right to impose upon them such terms as he pleased, and accordingly agreed to remove his army on condition that the Carthaginians should deliver up to Rome the islands of Sicily and Sardinia, give liberty to all the prisoners that they had taken, defray the expenses of the war, pay an annual tribute, never undertake a war without the consent of the Senate, keep but one large ship in their navy, and furnish fifty galleys, completely equipped, whenever the interest of Rome might require them.

These terms imposed by the Romans were considered very hard by their enemies, but Regulus, who thought himself master of the country, replied—"That enemies must either conquer, or submit to the law of the conqueror." This rendered the Carthaginians desperate; and accordingly, mustering all their forces, and marching out into the open field, under the command of Xantippus, a Lacedæmonian general, they offered battle to the Romans. Their position was admirably chosen, while that of the Romans was not. But the Romans, having been hitherto successful, began to despise their foes, and rushed upon

Regulus, the Roman General, taken Prisoner.

them with deafening shouts. The Carthaginians maintained their ground like men determined to conquer or to die; and in a short time, by means of their elephants and cavalry, succeeded in putting the Romans to flight, with a loss of thirty thousand men. Regulus, their general, was taken prisoner, and being loaded with chains, was carried to Carthage and confined in a gloomy dungeon.

The war between these two nations was still continued with the same animosity, Rome filling the seas with her navies, and pouring into Africa her countless soldiers. Success sometimes attended one side, and sometimes the other; but the Carthaginians having finally lost a number of battles, took Regulus from his prison and sent him to Rome to solicit a peace, or, at least, an exchange of prisoners. Before going, however, he was compelled to make a promise, that he would return to Carthage if he failed in his mission, and was moreover told that his life depended upon his success.

The joy of the Senate at having thus an opportunity to liberate their brave and faithful general was very great, and they would have willingly testified their regard for him by buying his freedom at any price. But Regulus labored earnestly against his own interest, and

succeeded in persuading his fellow-countrymen to continue the war. Then, without entering his house, or seeing his wife and children, lest he should be softened by their tears, he returned to Carthage, according to his promise, where he perished in the most cruel torments.

After a great deal of fighting, the Romans finally gained such advantage over the Carthaginians that the latter were obliged once more to sue for peace, which was granted, upon the hardest conditions. They were compelled to abandon the island of Sicily, to restore all prisoners without ransom, to give up all deserters, to pay down a thousand talents for the charge of the war, and two thousand two hundred in two years by way of tribute. The Carthaginians, however, were glad to obtain peace even upon such severe terms; but it was not so much peace, that they desired, as a truce. They had suffered terribly, and needed time to repair their forces. As soon, then, as they found themselves in a condition to fight, they took up arms with even greater fury than before.

The famous Hannibal was, no doubt, the cause of this second war, memorable for some of the most daring exploits that are found recorded upon the page of history. When this great Carthaginian general was only nine years

of age he accompanied his father in the war against Spain, and at that time swore, at the altar, eternal hatred to the Romans. Faithful to this early vow, he took the first opportunity to bring about a violation of the treaties existing between Carthage and Rome; and as soon as war was declared on the part of Rome, he set out for Italy with an army of ninety thousand foot soldiers, forty elephants, and twelve thousand cavalry. With this immense army, he traversed Gaul in the depth of winter. His passage across the Alps was accomplished in nine days, but this desperate journey was performed at the expense of six thousand horsemen and seventy thousand footmen, who perished from the hardships which they were forced to undergo. Capturing Turin, he supplied his needy troops with provisions, and encouraged the people of Cisalpine Gaul to join his standard. With all speed he then set out for Rome; but the army of that Republic, under the conduct of Cornelius Scipio, advanced in the mean time to resist him, and on the banks of the river Ticinus they met. The battle was bloody, but the day was decided by a charge of the Numidian horse, which left Hannibal master of the field. The life of the Roman general was saved by his son Publius

Scipio, who afterwards gained so much distinction in the war with the Carthaginians.

A second army, under the command of Tiberius Sempronius, was now sent against Hannibal, but with no better success—the Romans losing their camp, and twenty-six thousand men. By this time, Hannibal was willing to give his army rest, and accordingly he retired into winter quarters. But the Romans, meanwhile, were not idle. Their empire in Italy was seriously threatened, and whatever they could do to repel the successful invader must be done promptly and vigorously. Two large armies were therefore raised, and fully equipped for the ensuing campaign. These were sent to the passes of the Apennines; but Hannibal, determining to encounter only one of them at a time, crossed the mountains, and traversed the Clusian Marsh. For four days and nights his army marched through water; and he himself, mounted on the only remaining elephant, barely saved his own life, and lost an eye in consequence of an inflammation. As soon as he found a solid footing, he sought to engage in battle the army under Flaminius. He laid waste with fire and sword the whole country around him, and pretended that he was about marching upon the city of Rome. Flaminius,

induced to keep nearer to him than was prudent, was suddenly attacked, upon the borders of the Lake Thrasymentus, and his army was completely cut to pieces before he could display his colors. Hannibal now marched into Apulia, spreading terror wherever he went. Meanwhile another army, under the command of Fabius Maximus, was sent out to oppose him. With this general, Hannibal experienced more trouble than with those whom he had been hitherto obliged to encounter. Fabius almost equalled him in the use of stratagem, and so completely baffled him in his designs, that he scarcely knew what to do. But Hannibal outwitted him at last. Finding himself suddenly shut between impassable rocks and marshes, he collected a thousand oxen, and fastening burning torches to their horns, drove them furiously, at midnight, into the defiles which were guarded by the Romans. Panic-struck, by the terrible sight, the guards fled from their posts, and Hannibal forced his way through the Roman ranks.

Delay was disastrous to the Carthaginians, whenever a Roman army was hovering around them. Their dependence for support was upon the territory in which they happened to be located; and it was necessary for them to meet

Defeat of the Romans—They recover.

opposition with the utmost promptness. Being now in possession of Cannæ, they used every effort to bring the Romans to an engagement, but for a time were unsuccessful. It was finally brought about, and the Roman army was totally destroyed. Rome lost, as is said, fifty thousand men; and the conqueror sent to Carthage two bushels of gold rings, to show the incredible number of Roman knights that had fallen in the battle. It is quite probable that Hannibal would have made himself master of the city without striking a blow, if he had at this time marched his victorious army directly to Rome. Acting, however, as if he feared to put an end to the war too soon, he lingered in Campania, under pretence that his troops needed some repose. This gave the Romans time to recover from their consternation, and to take steps for preserving themselves from total destruction. It was to the young Scipio that they were mainly indebted for this success.

After the battle of Cannæ, he, with a number of other officers, retired to a neighboring town, which still held for the Romans, and while occupied at the house of a friend was informed that these officers, in despair of saving the Republic, had assembled at a certain place for the purpose of making arrangements to abandon

Italy. Extremely indignant at such conduct, he repaired immediately to the assembly, and entering with his drawn sword in hand, he cried out: "I swear that I will never abandon the Republic, nor suffer any of her citizens to do it. Whoever here shall refuse to take this oath which I have taken, shall perish beneath my sword!"

Ashamed of their conduct, and willing to do any thing to atone for it, they took the oath prescribed by Scipio. Some repaired to Rome, and others undertook to rally the allies, so that hope began to spring up in the bosoms of the people. Every effort was made to repel Hannibal. The citizens armed their slaves. They gave their silver and their gold. They took down from the roofs of the temples the old arms that had been hung up there as trophies, and gave them to the troops. Q. Fabius Maximus, leader of the Roman army at home, by all sorts of artifice and delays, foiled the Carthaginian general at every step. Scipio, too, at the head of the Roman army in Africa, was gaining battle after battle, and daily threatening the destruction of Carthage. He had there gained, as allies, the two powerful kings, Syphax and Masinissa; and so great was his success, that the Carthaginians were compelled to

The Carthaginians compelled to make Peace.

call Hannibal home to defend his own country. These two great generals met near Zama, with the full knowledge that the battle about to be fought between them, would decide the empire and the liberty of their respective countries. The soldiers knew, too, how much depended on their spirit and courage. Success, under such circumstances, was for a long time doubtful, but victory at last declared for Scipio. Twenty thousand Carthaginians fell upon the field, and an equal number were taken prisoners.

It was now impossible for Carthage to make any further resistance to Rome. Peace must be obtained at almost any price, and even the proud Hannibal himself was obliged to sue for it. But the Romans would not grant it except on the hardest terms. They compelled the Carthaginians to give up all their fleets, and their elephants; they forced them to restore all their prisoners, and to deliver up all deserters; they made them pay immense sums of money; forbid them to make alliances with other nations, or to engage in war, without the knowledge and express permission of the Roman Senate.

The deplorable condition of Carthage was rendered even more deplorable through the implacable hatred of Masinissa, king of Nu-

Fall of Carthage—Aspirations of Rome.

midia. Protected by Rome, this old enemy deprived the Carthaginians of the best part of their possessions, and destroyed their trade in the interior of Africa. But, more than all this, the Romans, seeing them so enfeebled, and still remembering the injuries sustained at their hands in the battles of Thrasymenus and Cannæ, resolved upon their total destruction. And now the third war with Carthage began, but it was not of so long duration as the two preceding. That stately city, which had presumed to dispute the empire of the world with Rome, fell, and its inhabitants were scattered among the different nations of the earth.

And now Rome, elevated to the highest pitch by such a triumph, aspired to the conquest of the whole earth. Their military leaders and their armies marched forth in every direction. The great Antiochus, who ruled over the larger part of Asia, was driven by them from his possessions. They conquered the Insubrians and the Ligurians. They reduced Macedon as well as Illyrium into provinces. The Greeks, too, fell under their dominion. In one word, all Italy, Spain, Illyrium quite to the Danube, Africa, Greece, Thrace, Macedon, Syria, all the kingdoms of Asia Minor, became members of the Roman Empire ;

Tiberius and Caius Gracchus.

and the name of Rome struck terror and respect among all the nations of the earth.

With so much success, came the greatest luxury; and the manners of the Romans suffered so much change by their good fortune, that they seemed altogether another people. The uprightness for which they had been held in such esteem, became corrupted by the pleasure of conquest and dominion. Ambition, rather than justice, governed their undertakings; selfishness succeeded the care formerly manifested for the public good; and patriotism almost ceased to exist among them.

In this state of things arose Tiberius Gracchus and Caius Gracchus, names too familiar in Roman history to be numbered with those which can be mentioned only where the greatest minuteness is to be observed. These brothers were grandchildren of the great Scipio, and their sister marrying the younger Scipio, they were thus related to the most powerful families in the Republic. Their mother, Cornelia, bestowed upon them a most excellent education. She, one day, being in the company of a Roman lady who was displaying her jewels, was asked to exhibit hers. Sending at once for her two sons, she pointed to them and exclaimed: "These are my jewels."

Ambition of Tiberius fostered by his Mother.

Tiberius, the elder, was endowed by nature with all those graces which serve as a recommendation to merit. He was also noted for his moderation, frugality, and public spirit; and, at an early age, had made himself conspicuous in the military service. Under the command of his brother-in-law, Scipio, he assisted at the siege of Carthage, and was the first man who mounted the walls of the burning city. At the age of thirty he was considered one of the best orators of Rome; but those who were jealous of his rising merit insinuated that he possessed inordinate ambition, an implacable hatred against the Senate, and a pretended zeal for the interests of the people.

His mother, Cornelia, is reported to have encouraged his ambition by saying that people spoke of her as the mother-in-law of Scipio, and not as the mother of the Gracchi. "Your brother-in-law, Scipio," she continually said, "stands in the first rank among the captains and generals of the Republic; make, now, your own name distinguished by the establishment of laws useful to the people."

Whether at the solicitation of his mother or not, it is quite certain that he offered himself as a candidate for the tribuneship of the people, and he was duly invested with this office.

The Agrarian Law.

His attention had been, doubtless, called to the poverty of the lower classes; and the successful application of a remedy would certainly place his name as conspicuously before the world as that of his illustrious brother-in-law, Scipio. He undertook the task, but, like most reformers and servants of the people, whether selfish or unselfish, he reaped, in the end, sorrow and shame.

Two hundred and thirty-two years had now passed since the enactment of the Agrarian law, by which it was declared that no person should possess more than five hundred acres of the public domain, and that the overplus should be divided among the plebeians. This law had ever remained a dead letter, and Tiberius knew that its revival would only meet with the strongest opposition from the higher classes. But he managed to bring it up, with several softening clauses. He provided that the possessors of surplus lands should receive compensation for the buildings and other improvements erected on them; that every son who was of age might possess the whole quantity allowed by law to a citizen and householder; and that every son under age might possess half that quantity.

But the nobles and rich citizens of Rome re-

Designs of Tiberius defeated.

jected the propositions of Tiberius with contempt, and stigmatized him as a promoter of sedition and a disturber of the public peace; and to counteract his plans, they gained over one of the Tribunes of the people, Marcus Octavius, without whose consent it would be impossible to enact the modified law. According to custom, however, Tiberius exposed his law nineteen days to the view of the people, and then proceeded to take their votes upon it. But Octavius interposed with his veto, and the whole undertaking seemed thus, at once, to be defeated.

Tiberius was not, however, to be so easily thwarted in his designs; and while the great men of Rome were triumphing over his defeat, he was taking measures to put a speedy termination to their joy.

At the next assembly of the people he arose and thus addressed them: "Since custom will not allow a Tribune to propose any new law, if but one of his colleagues forbids it, it is but justice that I should submit to the opposition of Octavius. But then as the tribuneship was created with a view to the redressing of the people's grievances, and as that Tribune, who forsakes this view, destroys the very foundation of this institution, I demand that the people, by

His artifice—The Law revived.

plurality of voices, decide which of the two, Octavius or I, acts most contrary to their interests; and that he who is judged to have failed in his duty, and to have abused his privilege of opposition, be immediately deposed."

This proposition of Tiberius was at once unanimously approved; and the vote being taken without delay, Octavius was excluded from the tribuneship. Thus, every obstacle to the law being removed, it was revived, and three commissioners, or triumvirs, were chosen to attend to the division of the lands. But the difficulties attending this, now appeared in their full light. Complaints of the bitterest kind proceeded from every part of Italy, and Tiberius began to find his enemies daily increasing around him. Endeavoring to regain the favor of the people, he occupied himself in devising new plans for promoting their interest; but so zealously did the patricians labor against him, that, when the day for electing the Tribunes of the following year arrived, it was found impossible to hold any election at all. And on the next day, such a noisy multitude beset the Forum, that Tiberius strove in vain to raise his voice among them.

Alarmed for his own safety, the Tribune beckoned to his nearest friends, and, wishing

Death of Tiberius.

to intimate to them that his life was in danger, he touched his head with the end of his finger. "He wishes a crown!" shouted his enemies. "Whoever loves the Republic, let him follow me!" cried his own kinsman, Scipio Nasica; and at the head of his followers he made an onset upon Tiberius and his friends. A great tumult ensued. The friends of Tiberius, terrified, abandoned him. They ran in every direction; and Tiberius himself, flinging away his robes of office, darted from his tribunal, and ran to save his life. He fell, however, in his flight, and, at the same time receiving a blow upon the head from some one near, never again arose to his feet. With him three hundred of his friends and adherents were slain and flung into the Tiber.

The Agrarian, or Sempronian, law was in nowise affected by the death of Tiberius. It still continued in full force, and ceased not to be the source of fresh commotions. One of the very commissioners appointed to execute it, was chosen to fill the place of the murdered Tiberius; and, for several years, Rome was the theatre of ceaseless struggles between the patricians and plebeians. Caius Gracchus, brother of Tiberius, came to the tribuneship ten years afterwards. With a desire of revenge,

he omitted no opportunity to gain the favor of the plebeians, as well as to arouse them against the patricians. Many of his brother's enemies were, through his instrumentality, expelled from the city; and the execution of the hateful law was earnestly attempted. Such was his success in operating upon the people, that he was chosen Tribune for a second year. But the Senate found the means of withdrawing the favor of the people from Caius. Their instrument was his colleague, Livius Drusus, who, by means of making still greater promises to them than were made by Caius, succeeded in winning their approbation. When, therefore, a third election for Tribunes took place, Caius was defeated, and Opimius, one of his bitterest enemies, was chosen to the consulate.

Soon after his elevation to office, Opimius sought to repeal the laws made by Caius: in consequence of which a great tumult arose in the city. Thousands of people armed themselves upon different sides; and the streets of Rome once more flowed with the blood of its citizens. No less than three thousand were slain. The head of Caius was cut off, and carried about upon the end of a spear; and his body, like that of his brother Tiberius, was thrown into the river Tiber.

THE JUGURTHINE WAR.

FROM 120 TO 103 B. C.

EARLY Education of Jugurtha—He forms Plans to obtain the Throne of Numidia—Is adopted by the King, his Uncle—Death of Hiempsal, his adopted Brother—Civil War in Numidia—Commissioners sent thither from Rome—Jugurtha's manner of satisfying them—Civil War continued—His adopted brother, Adherbal, appeals to Rome—Murder of Adherbal—Rome makes War against Jugurtha—The Roman General bribed by him—Indignation of the People—Jugurtha goes to Rome—Another Roman Army sent against him—Its Defeat—Partial Defeat of Jugurtha—Caius Marius becomes Consul and takes command in Numidia—Final Overthrow of Jugurtha—His Delivery to Sylla—His Death.

VIII.

THE JUGURTHINE WAR.

THE loss of the Gracchi was very deeply felt by the people of Rome ; and an affair of less moment than that of Jugurtha, would have scarcely brought them out of the dejection and consternation into which this loss had thrown them.

During the war against the Carthaginians, the Roman general, Scipio, had formed a friendship with Masinissa, a famous African prince. This prince rendered him such valuable services in his campaigns, that the Romans bestowed upon him the kingdom of Numidia, which at his death he left to Micipsa, who succeeded him. Micipsa had two sons, the elder named Adherbal and the younger Hiempsal. Besides these, he had a nephew named Jugurtha, who being a promising youth, and without protectors, was taken into the family of Micipsa, and

Early Education of Jugurtha.

educated with his sons, although he was considerably older than they.

Nothing could be more satisfactory to a parent or guardian than were the early conduct and progress of Jugurtha. His masters all praised him for his diligence, and prophesied that he would be a prodigy of learning. In drawing the bow, managing a horse, and in all kinds of athletic exercises, he was surpassed by no one; and it is said that his boldness in the chase was only equalled by the modesty with which he received the praises bestowed upon his difficult achievements.

Young Jugurtha soon became one of the ornaments of the court of Numidia; and the king, his uncle, looked upon him with pride and pleasure. But as the young prince grew older, it became very evident that he possessed an inordinate ambition, guided by an artful, insinuating, dextrous, and deceitful genius. The discovery of this filled the king with anxiety, for he, himself, was now becoming old, and his two sons were not of sufficient age or ability to oppose artifice, such as he began to fear that Jugurtha might use against them. It seemed plain enough, that he had nourished in his bosom a viper that would eventually turn and sting him.

The love which he bore to his own offspring prompted him, at once, to get rid of Jugurtha; and the least objectionable manner of accomplishing this seemed to be, by sending the ambitious youth to the war. He placed him, accordingly, at the head of a body of troops which he offered to Scipio Æmilianus, who was then besieging Numantia, in Spain. Jugurtha was not, however, destined to be slain in war, and he entered it as if he felt the assurance that this was so. His surprising acts of valor won for him universal admiration; and he made himself especially pleasing to his own officers and soldiers by his winning manners, and his continual favors and presents. Not forgetting the importance of securing the principal men under his command, he omitted nothing which could bind them to his interests. And even before the conclusion of the campaign they intimated to him that he would have little difficulty in placing himself upon the throne of Numidia.

Returning to his own country covered with the glory which he had acquired in the army, and also bearing a letter from the Roman general, in which his valor and his services were commended in the highest terms, he could not fail to lay a good foundation for his plans. Friends flocked to him from every quarter,

even from among the ministers of the kingdom; and those who did not come voluntarily, he managed to gain by promises and presents. Without a great deal of difficulty, he contrived to have it intimated to the old king that he could not do a wiser thing than to adopt him as his son, in order to give his younger children a guardian, and the State a protector. The king, ready to drop into his grave, listened to the hint, and in hopes that Jugurtha would at least be grateful, adopted him in a public manner, beseeching him earnestly, at the same time, to have a tender regard for the interests of his younger brothers.

But the projects of Jugurtha did not admit of any display of gratitude; and every thing like a tender regard for his younger brothers would have been equally injurious to them. The death of the old king was only a signal for the execution of these plans, and the event showed how admirably they had all been laid. Numidia was divided into three equal principalities, at the head of which were three sovereigns, possessing equal power, and all under the protection of the Romans. To be the sole master of Numidia was the aim of Jugurtha, and it was no great trial of his conscience to rid himself of the two young princes,

his adopted brothers. By the aid of assassins, whom it was easy enough for him to hire, he caused the younger to be stabbed at night, while sleeping in his bed.

Adherbal, the elder brother, terrified by such a wicked act, fled to that portion of the kingdom over which he had been appointed ruler; and immediately proceeded to raise troops to defend himself against the designs of his brutal kinsman. The whole nation now became divided, some declaring themselves in favor of one prince, and some in favor of the other. A bloody civil war ensued, during which many of the towns of Numidia were destroyed, and thousands of its inhabitants were put to the sword. Success generally attended the arms of Jugurtha, and Adherbal finally suffering a complete defeat, was obliged to fly for safety in disguise. Wandering for some time about his native land, he managed, at last, to make his escape to Rome.

The arrival here of a young prince, thus persecuted and driven from his country by an ambitious and blood-thirsty brother, could not fail to arouse the indignation of the Roman people. The whole city was thrown into excitement, and every one declared that nothing less could be done than to send an army into Africa to

punish the base Jugurtha. But the base, and, at the same time, cunning Jugurtha, sent ambassadors to Rome to justify his barbarous conduct. And these ambassadors being loaded with immense sums of money, found it no very difficult task to convince the Senate and grandees of Rome that he was not, after all, such an abominable wretch as, at first sight, he might appear. The outcries of the people were hushed, and ten commissioners were sent into Numidia to effect a reconciliation between Jugurtha and Adherbal.

These commissioners, on their arrival, found Jugurtha to be one of the most hospitable and generous of mortals. He provided them with every thing that they could wish, and neglected not to bestow upon them gold and silver to their heart's content. In turn they pronounced him an excellent and much abused man; and in settling the difficulty between him and Adherbal, contrived to give him the strongest cities and richest provinces, as a token of their great regard for the untold wealth which he evidently possessed.

Having rid himself of these commissioners, Jugurtha began, at once, to prosecute his designs against Adherbal. In order, however, to have some little show of justice on his side, he

tried to provoke him to resentment, by committing small depredations upon his frontiers. But Adherbal took no notice of these things, and Jugurtha finally entered his dominions at the head of a large army, and made himself master of most of his cities and provinces. There was now no other course for Adherbal—he must either fight or deliver himself up to his blood-thirsty enemy; and, accordingly, he levied a great army, at the head of which he undertook to drive Jugurtha from his kingdom. But Jugurtha, vastly his superior in the art of war, attacked him upon all sides, destroyed his troops, and endeavored to take possession of his person. Adherbal, however, made good his escape to Cirta, the capital of his dominions.

To Cirta, also, Jugurtha hastened, determined upon Adherbal's death. He besieged the town; he used every effort to obtain an entrance, and even swore that he would not leave its walls until his enemy was within his grasp. So desperate, at last, became the position of the poor persecuted prince, that he was obliged to dispatch messengers to Rome, to beg the people there to interfere and save his life. To Rome, however, Jugurtha had also hastened messengers, in the form of bags of gold; and these, placed in the hands of his emissaries there,

Adherbal's difficulty in obtaining Aid from Rome.

contended with great effect against the messengers of Adherbal. The Romans scarcely knew which to choose, but finally the gold prevailed, and they contented themselves with sending three commissioners into Africa, who were instructed to make peace, if possible, between the two Numidian princes.

But Jugurtha's gold succeeded in sending back these commissioners, soon after their arrival; and his gold, also, prompted them to report in Rome that the affairs of Numidia were never in a more prosperous condition. Meanwhile, Adherbal, driven to extremity, wrote a long account of his condition to the Roman Senate, informing them how Jugurtha had bribed their commissioners, and imploring them, in the name of Masinissa, his grandfather, to save at least his life. "Dispose, as you please, of the kingdom of Numidia, but suffer me not to fall in the hands of a tyrant, and of the murderer of my family," said he.

There were some honest men in the Senate, who had not been corrupted by the gold of Jugurtha, and who were of opinion that an army should be sent immediately into Africa to raise the siege of Cirta, and to punish this wicked man. But the number of these honest men was not great enough to prevail; and

Adherbal's murder—An Army sent into Numidia.

nothing more was done than to send commissioners again into Numidia. Like those who had been sent before, they were easily seduced by the cunning Jugurtha, who bribed them to believe that his brother, Adherbal, had attempted to destroy him, and that it was only in self-defence that he had taken up arms against him.

With this report the commissioners returned to Rome; and Jugurtha, once more allowed to continue his persecution of Adherbal, pushed the siege of Cirta with so much vigor, that it was obliged to yield, and Adherbal fell into his hands. The poor prince demanded no other conditions but the preservation of his life, which Jugurtha promised him in the most solemn terms; but no sooner had he entered the city, than he slaughtered all the Numidians, and put Adherbal to death by the most cruel tortures.

The news of such an outrage could not be circulated in Rome without exciting universal indignation. Those Senators who had suffered themselves to be bribed by the infamous Jugurtha, beginning to fear now that they might be accused as accessories to his crime, consented to have an army sent into Africa to punish him as he deserved. The command of this army was given to L. Bestia Calpurnius, a man

War made upon Jugurtha.

of sordid avarice, and to whom war was merely a trade, by which to fill his coffers with gold. At his own solicitation he was furnished with officers whom he knew to be no better than himself; and by whose assistance, doubtless, he hoped to reap a golden harvest.

Before, however, the army was ready to set out from Rome, Jugurtha, informed of what was going on, sent thither an embassy plentifully provided with money. But he was mistaken upon this occasion. It was impossible for the Senate to suffer his offences to go any longer unpunished. His ambassadors were ordered to depart without even entering the city, unless they would consent to give up the kingdom of Numidia, as well as the person of Jugurtha himself. Unwilling to comply with such a demand, they accordingly retired; and Calpurnius, embarking with his troops at Rhegium, entered the dominions of Jugurtha, and began a vigorous war. The course of his army was everywhere marked by the most dreadful devastation. He formed sieges, plundered cities, and made prisoners. The terrified inhabitants fled in all directions at the simple mention of his name, and Jugurtha himself began finally to fear that his empire was at an end. But what could he do? His armies were

The Roman General bribed by Jugurtha.

insufficient to cope with the veteran troops of Rome, and he had no allies strong enough to enable him to make a determined resistance against his invaders.

Jugurtha knew well enough what to do. Hitherto the Romans had not been proof against the power of his gold, and his coffers were still amply provided with it. Confident that in this way he could drive them from his country, he sent emissaries to Calpurnius, with offers of large sums of money, if he would leave him alone in peace. Calpurnius was purchased easily; and, in order to deceive the Roman Senate, pretended that the Numidian king had delivered up to him his towns, his horses, his elephants, and every thing that he possessed; and for a time this was apparently the case. But so soon as the Roman army had left Numidia, Jugurtha entered again into possession of all his dominions, and even purchased of the base Calpurnius the horses and elephants which should have been retained for the service of Rome.

It was not very long before the Roman people began to suspect that the treaty made between Calpurnius and Jugurtha was a perfect sham; and when, at length, their suspicions were confirmed, the greatest indignation was

Indignation of the People—Jugurtha sent for.

manifested against the Senate. The Tribunes of the People complained in the bitterest terms. They declared, in the public assemblies, that there was no justice left among them—that money was the tyrant of Rome, and that the grandees and nobles had no other deities. “They tell us,” said one of them, “that the Numidian has yielded himself up to the Republic—that he has delivered up his places, his troops, and his elephants. Convince us of the truth of this assertion; make Jugurtha come to Rome. If it be true that he has submitted, he will obey your orders; if not, you may easily judge that what they call a treaty is nothing but a collusion between that crafty prince and our generals—a treaty that has produced nothing but impunity of his crimes to him, scandalous riches to those who were intrusted with the Senate’s commission, and an eternal dishonor to the Republic.”

It was impossible to prevent the people from sending for Jugurtha, and the prætor Cassius was consequently dispatched to bring him to Rome. A less artful man would have probably resisted any such proceeding, but Jugurtha, still counting upon the power of his gold, consented to go, on receiving the public faith as his safeguard. On reaching Rome, he gained

More Corruption—Jugurtha sent Home.

at once the Tribune Boebius, who managed to protect him, but not without exposing himself to the charge of corruption. Indeed, the people became so provoked at this fresh instance of collusion, that they threatened to seize Jugurtha, and give his crown to another grandson of Masinissa, who, upon the death of Adherbal, had taken refuge in Rome. Jugurtha, however, put an end to such a plan as this by causing the assassination of his rival. But the murderer being taken, confessed that he had been employed by Jugurtha to commit the deed, whereupon this infamous wretch was commanded by the Senate to depart at once from Rome. Passing through the gate of the city, it is said that he looked back and exclaimed: "O mercenary town! thou wouldst quickly be enslaved, if a merchant were found but rich enough to buy thee!"

Although the Romans were bound by their promise to suffer Jugurtha to return to his dominions, yet they were determined to bring him back to Rome, and punish him for his iniquity. The voice of the people was now raised against him, and it was publicly declared that he should never escape again. A large army, under the command of the consul Albinus, was accordingly sent into Numidia, with orders to

Defeat of another Army sent against Jugurtha.

make a vigorous war upon him, unless he delivered his person and kingdom up to the disposal of the Roman people. But Jugurtha found means to perplex and delay Albinus, to such a degree, that he actually accomplished nothing during the time that he remained in Africa; and the season for holding the election in Rome having arrived, he was obliged to repair thither, and leave his army under the direction of his lieutenant, Aulus. This man possessed neither valor nor military knowledge; and the crafty Numidian succeeded, without much difficulty, in drawing so poor a general into difficulty. Aulus was led, through his artifices, to conduct his army into narrow passes, whose avenues had been previously secured, and then he was completely cut to pieces; life and liberty being given to those who escaped the sword, only on condition that they should pass under the yoke—an ignominious ceremony, by which the conquerors affixed an eternal shame to the defeat of the vanquished. Besides this, Jugurtha compelled Aulus and his principal officers to promise that the Romans should never again disturb him in the possession of the kingdom of Numidia.

As soon as the Senate heard of this shameful treaty, they declared it void; and recalling

Another Army sent—Jugurtha defeated.

Aulus, intrusted Metellus, the consul elect, with the prosecution of the war. The new general, having collected a large supply of provisions and ammunition, set out for Numidia, accompanied by Caius Marius, whom the people had chosen as his lieutenant. On arriving in Africa, Metellus received from Aulus the command of the Roman army, and marching at once against Jugurtha, he drove him to the very extremity of his dominions. Jugurtha was stripped of all his troops, and completely shut out of all his fortified towns. Nothing seemed left for him to do but to submit to whatever terms the Roman general should think fit to dictate to him, and he agreed accordingly to pay to Metellus two hundred thousand pounds weight of silver; to deliver up all his elephants and a certain quantity of arms and horses; and to yield up all who had deserted to his ranks. To these hard conditions Jugurtha rendered a ready obedience; but when Metellus ordered him to repair, himself, to Tisidium for further directions, he began to hesitate, and spent several days without coming to any resolution. The fear of falling into the hands of the Romans, who would doubtless punish him for all his crimes, finally prevailed; and he determined that he would not surrender

Trouble in the Roman Army.

as long as he could find a single soldier to help him fight. Accordingly he broke off all negotiations; gathered together new troops; fortified some small places that were still in his possession, and bid the Romans to take him if they could.

In the mean time trouble arose in the Roman camp. Caius Marius, the lieutenant of Metellus, and a very ambitious man, aspired to the supreme command. The better to attain the object of his wishes, he caused a report to be carried to Rome, that Metellus was prolonging the war in Africa, in order to continue himself in power; and contrived also to have it circulated, that, if he was at the head of the army, a single campaign alone would be sufficient to bring Jugurtha, dead or alive, to Rome.

Hitherto the consulship had never been filled except by a patrician, and Marius belonging to the order of the plebeians, it seemed a very bold thing for him to aspire to this office. He found, however, friends enough in Rome to labor in his interest. A short time previous, then, to the election, word was sent to him in Africa, that there was little doubt of his receiving the majority of the votes. As it was necessary for him to be in Rome at the time of the election, he asked his discharge of Metel-

Calus Marius made Consul.

lus, and received it, though not without a sharp rebuke for making such high pretensions. Without appearing to be offended, he took his departure, and, notwithstanding the obstacles thrown in his way by the nobility, was, in due season, made consul and commander of the armies of Rome.

This was a great triumph for the common people; and Marius himself boasted in presence of the patricians, that the dignity he had obtained was a victory which the people had gained over the great, by means of his courage and valor. "By taking the command of the army out of the hands of the great," said he in a public assembly, "you have removed the chief obstacle that lay in the way of victory. It has been nothing but their ignorance in the military art, their presumption, and especially their scandalous avarice, that have drawn out the war to such a length already."

With as little delay as possible, Marius proceeded to raise new troops for the war in Africa. Arriving in Numidia, he marched with the forces that accompanied him, to join those under Metellus. This great general, deeply mortified at being superseded by his late lieutenant, appointed one of his officers to deliver over his army to Marius, and then set out at

Marius takes the Command in Numidia.

once for Rome. A strong body of cavalry, under the command of Cornelius Sylla, soon after arrived in Africa; and these, joining the forces under Marius, formed a large and powerful army.

Previous to the arrival of Marius in Rome, Jugurtha had succeeded in securing the protection and aid of a neighboring king, named Bocchus. Their united army presented a very formidable appearance, but Marius determined to attack them without delay. Taking, first, the great and populous city of Capsa, he began to form plans for destroying the army of Jugurtha; but while thus engaged, the two kings marched privately upon him, and throwing the Roman troops into the greatest consternation, slaughtered them by hundreds. Indeed they would have gained a complete victory, had they known and improved the advantage which they, upon this occasion, acquired.

Recovering from his surprise, and rendered by this misfortune much more cautious, Marius collected his troops and once more made an effort to meet and punish his crafty foe. Two decisive battles were soon after fought, and the two kings were sadly beaten in both. Bocchus became convinced that he had committed a great error in allying himself with Jugurtha

Bocchus sends Ambassadors to Rome.

against the Roman nation. Hoping, however, that he might yet save his crown, he sent ambassadors to Rome, with instructions to signify to the Senate his regret at having engaged in the service of Jugurtha.

These ambassadors were received with great respect at Rome; but in reply to their solicitations they were answered in these words: "The Senate and Roman people are not used to forget either services or injuries; however, since Bocchus repents of his fault they grant him their pardon. As to peace and alliance, he shall obtain them when he has deserved them by his actions."

"What does this mean?" said Bocchus, in reply to these words, as they were delivered to him by the ambassador. "What would the Senate desire when they tell me, that I shall have peace and alliance after I have deserved them by my actions? Go to the camp of Marius, and bid him to send his quæstor hither."

The quæstor, Sylla, was accordingly sent to the troubled king. "You have no other way," said Sylla to him, "of obtaining peace and alliance, but by delivering Jugurtha to us; and thus you will make amends for the imprudence of your first engagement."

The proposal was not at all agreeable to

Bocchus delivers Jugurtha to Sylla.

Bocchus, who could not bear to be guilty of such a piece of treachery. He would not listen to it; and their interview ended. But Sylla came to see him again and again, and each time being more pressing, and more eloquent, Bocchus finally consented to yield up Jugurtha. The wretched prince was seized, loaded with chains, and given up to Sylla, who placed him in the hands of Marius.

Messengers were at once dispatched to Rome to bear the joyful tidings, and, soon after, the conqueror of Numidia followed with his victorious army. The gates of the city were flung wide open for his triumphal entry, and Jugurtha, covered with chains, was dragged like a slave at the wheels of the chariot of Marius. In order to prevent his escape, he was taken at once to prison, where he was condemned to be starved to death. His royal robe was taken off by the executioner, as well as all the clothes which covered him, and then the miserable wretch was rudely pushed into the dungeon, destined to be his tomb. "Oh, Hercules, how cold are thy stoves!" he exclaimed, as the damp air struck upon his naked body; and thus, after struggling with hunger for six days, died a king who, to gratify his ambition, did not hesitate to commit the blackest crimes.

MARIUS AND SYLLA.

FROM 102 TO 86 B. C.

Marius defeats the Barbarians—Marius in disfavor—He goes to Asia—Assassination of Drusus—War of the Confederates—Sylla sent against Mithridates—Contention between Marius and Sylla—Sylla marches against his enemies at Rome—Marius and Sulpitius driven from the city—They are proscribed—Sulpitius slain—Cinna made Consul—He opposes the measures of Sylla—Stratagem of Cinna—His defeat—Deprived of his office—Complains to the army—The flight of Marius—His condemnation—His escape from death—He goes to Africa—His arrival at Carthage—He is invited to join Cinna—They threaten Rome—Cinna made Consul—Brutal conduct of Marius—Death of Marius.



CAPTURE OF CAIUS MARIUS.

IX.

MARIUS AND SYLLA.

THE rejoicings in Rome on account of the defeat and capture of Jugurtha, were very much marred by the disputes between the patricians and plebeians, as to who was entitled to most honor for this achievement. The plebeians maintained that the successful termination of the war was due to Marius, the first consul chosen from their number; and the patricians contended that Marius might yet have been in Africa, if Sylla, a patrician, had not contrived to get possession of the person of Jugurtha. A great jealousy at once sprang up between these two distinguished soldiers, which resulted in a good deal of trouble and bloodshed.

These contentions, however, gave place, for a while, to a general alarm created by the threatened invasion of a great multitude of barbari-

Marius defeats the Barbarians.

ans, known by the name of Teutones and Cimbri, issuing from Chersonesus Cimbrica, now called Jutland. These barbarians, numbering more than three hundred thousand, had already overrun Gaul, and were making preparations to pass into Italy. The fear of such immense numbers of people, remarkable for their fierceness, smothered, of course, every thing like discord among the citizens of Rome. The common safety occupied their attention more than party strifes, and, with one accord, Marius was called to take command of the armies, in this time of trouble. Under his direction the Roman territory was ably defended. In one battle, which lasted, as is said, two whole days, a hundred and forty thousand of the Teutones were slain; and at another time, a hundred and twenty thousand of the Cimbri fell upon the field, besides sixty thousand that were taken prisoners.

If Marius had been considered a great general before, he must, certainly, now be regarded as the first in the Roman Republic. Indeed his popularity was very great, but he was not so much admired for his virtues as Metellus, the general whom he had superseded in Numidia. This fact was to him a subject of deep mortification, and he therefore did every thing

Marius' jealousy of Metellus—Marius in disfavor.

in his power to accomplish the downfall of his rival. Through the instrumentality of certain base men whom he had in his employ, he succeeded in procuring the banishment of Metellus. But these men, who soon became known as the tools of his ambition, were detected in the commission of the grossest crimes; and when Marius was called upon to punish them, as they deserved, he did every thing in his power to facilitate their escape. The people were, very naturally, indignant at such conduct in their chief ruler; and determining to take the matter in their own hands, pursued these persons with so much vigilance, that they were obliged, for safety, to surrender themselves to Marius, who secured them against the attempts of their enemies.

This only made the matter worse. The services which Marius had rendered to the State were all forgotten, by reason of this conspiracy with evil-doers. The people resolved that they would themselves have justice; and surrounding, therefore, the house in which he was protecting these wicked men, they forced it open, and killed them with clubs and stones. Then turning upon Marius, they heaped upon him all sorts of accusations; and, as a kind of punishment, demanded the repeal of the sentence

Return of Metellus—Marius goes to Asia.

of banishment against Metellus. A public assembly was convened at once, and, by an almost unanimous vote, Metellus was restored to the rights of citizenship.

With as little delay as possible, the friends of this old and faithful general notified him of what had taken place; and when intelligence arrived that he was on his way to Rome, the whole city went out to meet him, so that his return was, in fact, a triumph. But while this occasion filled every one with joy, Marius alone was much dejected; and, with as little delay as possible, leaving Rome, he embarked for Asia, under pretence of performing some sacrifices which he had vowed during the war with the Teutones and Cimbri. It is said that his real object was to bring about a war between Rome and Mithridates, one of the most powerful monarchs in the East. Without, however, accomplishing any thing, he returned to Rome, where, during a season of peace, and amid a number of young and gallant generals, he became in a short time little noticed.

It was not long, however, before difficulties arose in Rome, the results of which were, in a little while, felt throughout the whole extent of Italy. These difficulties had their origin in the great privileges attached to the quality of a

Difficulties in Rome.

Roman citizen. Every one entitled to this distinction, wherever he might choose to dwell, had the right to give his vote in the election of magistrates and commanders, and was a sharer in the sovereignty of the State. It was, therefore, quite natural that those nations that had submitted themselves to the commonwealth—that paid the taxes, and furnished the soldiers required of them—should seek to have some voice in the government which they were thus supporting. And, accordingly, when an opportunity occurred, some of them demanded the rights and name of Roman citizens. They maintained that they did more for the support and protection of Rome, than she and her territories did themselves; and they urged that there was no justice in treating as mere subjects, those, who were, in every way, equals and fellow-citizens.

The Tribune, Livius Drusus, took it upon himself to settle these difficulties, and to this end made several propositions, which were, however, exceedingly obnoxious to the Senate. Among them was a very large increase of their number, and the division of the public lands. But the proud senators disdained to have intruders thrust among them, and the very mention of Agrarian law was enough to raise a conspir-

War of the Confederates.

acy against Drusus. The Latins and other nations did all in their power to protect him, but notwithstanding this he was unable to escape the fury of his opposers, and was finally slain at the very door of his own house.

The cruel assassination of a man who had labored to procure the rights of citizenship for the foreign subjects of the commonwealth, could not fail to arouse among them the greatest indignation; and these people very naturally sought to obtain their rights by force of arms. This, it was, that gave rise to what is called the *Social War*, or *War of the Confederates*. Deputies were sent from one city to another, and a league entered into between them, by which it was agreed that each district should furnish a certain proportion of arms and soldiers. They appointed also their most skilful generals to command their troops, and made the most rapid preparations for an attack upon Rome. But before commencing any acts of hostility, they sent ambassadors to the city, demanding, in the name of all the nations of Italy, to be recognized as Roman citizens.

A demand made under such circumstances could not be granted; and the Senate, even refusing to listen to their ambassadors, the Confederates promptly drew out their forces,

consisting of more than a hundred thousand men, with the determination to enforce their claims. With equal promptness, the Senate also raised an unusual number of legions, which, under the command of the two consuls, assisted by C. Marius, Cn. Pompeius, Cornelius Sylla, and Licinus Crassus, took the field against the foe. Each of these persons commanded separate bodies, on account of the great number of places to which it was necessary for them to give attention at the same time; and thus Rome had, in fact, a number of very large armies scattered over different parts of Italy.

The spirit manifested on both sides seemed to be nearly the same. The one fought obstinately for their rights, and the other determined to resist to the last. Many were the bloody encounters between them, and many were the cities taken and retaken, without any apparent advantage to either. But, day by day, their forces were diminished and weakened to such a degree, that it became evident that, whichever side was victorious, the commonwealth must be ruinously affected. Willing to prevent, if possible, an act of self-destruction, the Senate signified their determination to yield to the Confederates as much as was consistent with

Marius falls in public Estimation.

the dignity of the Roman name. The rights of citizenship were at first given to such as had not taken up arms; then to those who offered first to lay them down; and, finally, to the nations adjoining the Roman territories. In this way the fury of the enemies was allayed, and they, at length, becoming suspicious of one another, hastened to make their separate peace.

When an end had been put to the war, the people, as a matter of course, began to talk over its incidents, and to bestow their praise, or their dispraise, according to the merits of the different officers who had been trusted with conducting it. The great reputation that had been heretofore sustained by Marius, suffered, for some reason, upon this occasion. Whether it was on account of the heaviness and slowness natural to advancing years, or because he had no opportunities to display his military talents, cannot be known; but certain it is, that he did very little for the glory of the Roman arms, while Sylla, his great rival, distinguished himself by so many grand achievements, that immediately after the conclusion of the war, the consulate was conferred upon him; and, not long afterwards, he was made governor of Asia Minor.

About this time, Mithridates, the mightiest

Mithridates offends the Roman People.

prince of all the East, gave great offence to the Roman people, by making war upon, and conquering several kingdoms in alliance with them. And when the Senate sent to him a request that he would withdraw his forces from all the provinces under the protection of the commonwealth, he testified his contempt of their power and his resentment, by causing the murder of fifty thousand Romans, who, for the purpose of carrying on different kinds of traffic, had settled in the East. Not content with this, he even threatened Rome itself, and all Italy, with the power of his arms.

It was no common enemy that had now risen up against Rome. In every direction he had carried the terror of his name, and nation after nation had fallen a prey to his fearful arms. His armies were said to reckon more than two hundred and fifty thousand foot, and fifty thousand horse, with an infinite number of armed chariots; and his seaports contained more than four hundred ships of war. But the resources of Rome were also vast; and the Senate, trusting in the valor of its soldiers, and in the experience of its generals, did not hesitate to enter the lists, even against a prince as powerful as Mithridates, and accordingly appointed Sylla to undertake the war.

So great an honor conferred upon a hated rival was a bitter thing for Marius, and he resolved, if possible, to take it from him, and to have it bestowed upon himself. For this purpose he brought over to his own interest a Tribune of the people, named P. Sulpitius, a bold and enterprising man, and an inveterate enemy of Sylla. By skilful management of their plans, these two persons succeeded in rousing the allies of Rome against the Senate, and in inciting them to demand such an alteration of the laws, as would throw into their hands a degree of power which would enable them to defeat the purposes of the Senate. This met with instant opposition, and holy days were proclaimed, whereon it was not lawful to do business, in order that compliance with the demand might be peacefully deferred. But Sulpitius, without any regard for this proclamation, summoned an assembly of the people, and sent to the consuls a bold request that the holy days should be revoked, in order that the people might give their votes upon the alteration of the law. This being refused, a great commotion arose, and the party of Sulpitius drawing their swords, much blood was spilled, and the son-in-law of Sylla was killed, while endeavoring to succor his father. Sylla, him-

self, was pursued by his enemies, and compelled to take refuge in the house of Marius, which he happened to find open in his flight.

It would now have been easy enough for Marius to free himself forever of his rival ; but he could not take the life of a man who had sought safety at his fireside ; still, he compelled him to return to the assembly, and declare the holy days abolished and repealed. But Sylla had no sooner done this, than he fled from the city, and placed himself at the head of those troops which he had commanded in the war of the Confederates, and which were to march under him against Mithridates. In the mean time, the holy days being repealed, Sulpitius procured the alteration of the law, and succeeded also in causing the command of the army to be taken away from Sylla and bestowed upon Marius.

This was the beginning of a series of disturbances, in and about Rome, which might, with truth, be called a civil war. Marius, appointed to the command of the army, now on its way against Mithridates, sent immediately some officers of his party to take possession of it, until he could himself get ready to overtake it. Proceeding with all dispatch, these officers finally reached the camp of Sylla, to whom

they communicated their message, requesting him to yield to them the command of the army. But Sylla was not one of those men who tamely submit to the dictation of others. He bid the officers of Marius to go back to Rome, and tell their master to come and take the command himself, if he could. But these officers becoming insolent, some of the soldiers of Sylla, who were standing by, fell upon them and slew them; and then, turning to their commander, besought him to lead them against his enemies at Rome, before taking them to Asia.

The news of the slaughter of these officers having been carried to the city, Marius was so enraged, that he caused a number of the friends of Sylla to be put to death, and their houses to be plundered. This occasioned so much terror among others, that they fled with all haste to the distant camp, and thither carrying a report of what had taken place at home, created so much excitement, that Sylla determined to go back, at once, to Rome. This resolution caused a number to leave him, because they were unwilling to turn their arms against their own country. Still these were, in comparison, so very few, that Sylla would not change his purpose; but, on the contrary, hastened to put it

Sylla marches against his Enemies at Rome.

into execution. His colleague, Q. Pompeius, hearing of his proceedings, set out from Rome to join him; but while they were yet at some distance from the city, Marius and Sulpitius, who had no army to oppose them, sent the prætors, Brutus and Servilius, to command Sylla to stop his march.

The insolent manner in which these two men addressed the commander of the army, so exasperated the soldiers, that they fell upon them, broke the fasces and axes carried before them, and, tearing in pieces their purple gowns, would have killed them, if Sylla had not interfered. Seeing the prætors return to Rome in such a plight, Marius and Sulpitius became convinced that it was useless to resist so powerful and so bitter an enemy, and accordingly dispatched deputies to him, hoping, at least, to delay his march. When these deputies reached Sylla, they began, at once, to entreat him and his colleague, Pompeius, to suspend their anger, and to cause their troops to halt within five miles of Rome. "The Senate," said they, "are in hopes of bringing about an accommodation, and will see you fully satisfied in this matter. Be contented to let your troops rest until these difficulties can be settled."

Sylla perceiving, however, that the object of

Sylla drives Marius and Sulpitius from the City.

the deputies was simply to delay his progress until Marius could raise forces to meet him, made them believe that he accepted their proposals, and even directed his officers, in their presence, to mark out a camp. But as soon as the deputies had got out of sight, he sent his cavalry behind them, and, bringing on the remainder of his army with the greatest speed, arrived before the gates of Rome, while his enemies supposed him to be still far away.

Notwithstanding the suddenness of Sylla's appearance, Marius and Sulpitius were partially prepared to oppose him; but their resistance being very feeble, he entered the city sword in hand, and threatened to burn and raze it to the ground, if the people gave any aid or protection to Marius and Sulpitius. In consequence of this, these two men were abandoned by every one, and finally forced to fly from Rome.

With an army of six legions at his command, it was no difficult matter for Sylla to convince the people that there were many things in the government of Rome that needed revision and correction, before order could again exist. Accordingly, he abolished certain laws which gave the control of the elections into the hands of the people; he took measures to prevent the con-

Marius and Sulpitius proscribed.

tinual speeches by which, as he declared, the Tribunes were wont to create seditions among the people; and established a law which declared every citizen who had filled the Tribunate incapable of holding any other magistracy for the future. Redressing, in this manner, the wrongs which he thought had been sustained by the patricians, he turned his attention to revenging his own private grievances, and, with as little delay as possible, caused the decree which gave the command of the army to Marius to be repealed. Not content with this, he obtained articles of impeachment against him, as well as against his son; also against Sulpitius and twelve of the principal senators, for having been authors of the last insurrection. These persons were all declared enemies of the Roman State. Rewards were set upon their heads; they were interdicted water and fire, which meant all manner of subsistence and assistance from anybody; and throughout the city of Rome, and all the provinces of the State, the decree was proclaimed by sound of trumpet, ordaining that they should everywhere be prosecuted at the public charge, and be put to death as soon as they could be found. Nor were any efforts spared to find them. By order of Sylla, troops were sent out in all directions

Sulpitius slain—Cinna made Consul.

to take them; but none of them, except the Tribune Sulpitius, could be found. He was discovered in the moors and marshes of Larentum, by some of Sylla's horsemen, who immediately cut off his head, and carrying it to Rome, nailed it to the rostrum.

Such relentlessness on the part of Sylla began, in time, to arouse bitter feelings towards him. The people charged him with cruelty; and the Senate murmured against his proscription of their colleagues, as if they were common thieves and vagabonds. Some became bold enough to say that he sought the death of a man more generous than himself; and that he had forgotten that he owed his life to Marius, who might easily have destroyed him, when he took refuge in his house. These reproaches did not escape Sylla, and he sought to overcome them by feigning, subsequently, a vast deal of moderation. Thus he testified no anger at the defeat of certain persons, whose election for certain offices he had recommended, and even suffered his enemy, Cornelius Cinna, to be chosen consul the following year.

Cinna, it is true, was his kinsman, and a patrician; but he had devoted himself to the interest of the plebeians, and was consequently an opponent of the measures of Sylla. As soon,

therefore, as he had entered upon the duties of his office, he declared that he would procure the repeal of all the laws of Sylla, and even undertook, through the instrumentality of one of his creatures, to procure the impeachment of Sylla. But without deigning to give an answer to the charges made against him, Sylla left both the charges and his judges, and set out from Rome for his army, to make war against Mithridates.

In order to maintain himself more firmly against Sylla, it was evident that Cinna must, if possible, bring about the recall of Marius. But the decree of his proscription was a very solemn thing, and the party of Sylla in Rome was so strong, that its reversal could not be accomplished without some difficulty. To make sure of it, however, he gained the Confederates on his side, by promising to restore to them those rights of citizenship which Sylla had virtually taken away from them. In a secret way he notified them to assemble on a certain day, in large numbers, at Rome, with swords under their gowns, and at the same time appointed an assembly of the people, for the purpose of proposing a new law for their acceptance.

When the day arrived, the Forum was so crowded with these Confederates, that the citi-

Stratagem of Cinna.

zens themselves could scarcely find access to it. Cinna mounted the rostrum, and, in a long speech, set forth the claims of the Latins and Italians, and maintained, that the glory and interests of the commonwealth demanded that all the different nations of Italy should form but one body, and one State. He demanded also, that, as new citizens, they should receive places in the old tribes, as chance might determine it; and declared that this was the only way to preserve peace and union, and to increase the glory and terror of the Roman name.

The Confederates, of course, received such a proposition with great applause, and loudly demanded that a vote should be taken, in order to make it a law. But the ancient citizens and patricians opposed it strongly; and from disputes they went rapidly to loud invectives and bitter accusations, when the Confederates finally drew their swords from beneath their gowns, and falling upon the ancient citizens, drove them from the Forum. Octavius, the colleague of Cinna, and a friend of Sylla, fearing that something like this might happen, had taken the precaution to have in readiness a large number of armed people. As soon, therefore, as the disturbance took place, he marched to-

Cinna leaves Rome—He is deprived of his Office.

wards the Forum, and attacking the Latins, dispersed and pursued them, sword in hand, out of the gates of the city.

Thus abandoned, Cinna had no other course but to leave Rome also; and following, accordingly, the people whom he had invited thither, he visited successively their largest towns, and endeavored to stir them up to revenge themselves upon the Roman people. It was not very difficult for him to find, wherever he went, enough enemies to Rome. Most of the cities and towns resolved to unite in war upon their common foe, and he went zealously to work, raising men and money.

In the mean time, the Senate, hearing of what he was doing, passed sentence upon him. They declared that he had forfeited his right as a citizen; they deprived him of his office of consul, and elected Lucius Merula, a priest of Jupiter, in his stead. This increased the fury of the fiery Cinna, and, resolving upon the most destructive measures against his enemies, he proceeded to Capua, where a large body of Roman soldiers was then stationed. The officers and troops, ignorant of what had happened, were, of course, much surprised to see a consul appear among them without his lictors, fasces, and other tokens of dignity. "You see," said

The Roman Army at Capua receive him as Consul.

Cinna, addressing them, "an unheard-of precedent of the Senate's tyranny. You had made me your consul; the people of Rome had conferred that dignity on me by their votes; and the Senate deprives me of it, without hearing what I can say for myself, and even without having consulted the people. I am stripped of the badges of my office, driven from the tribunal and the city, while you are thereby treated with contempt, and deprived of your liberties and your rights." Saying this, he tore his robe, called upon the gods for justice, and threw himself upon the ground as if he was resolved to terminate his life.

By this conduct Cinna succeeded in his scheme. The soldiers began to cry out against the tyranny of the Senate. They lifted the abused consul from the ground, restored to him the fasces, and, taking an oath of fidelity, acknowledged him as their consul and general. Thus the man so lately forced to fly from Rome became its formidable foe; and the consuls, Octavius and Merulā, were obliged, with all haste, to raise new troops to oppose any projects which he might have for the recovery of his authority. In the mean time the party of Cinna increased daily in strength. People flocked to him continually from the city.

Many, even of the senators, went to his camp, and it was reported that the renowned Caius Marius and his son were on their way to join him.

This extraordinary man, after having been six times elevated to the consulship, and after having acquired the greatest glory for the arms of Rome, was compelled, on account of his many acts of tyranny and violence, to fly, at the age of seventy years, from his country, unattended even by a single friend or servant. Escaping through the gates of the city, he journeyed all day, on foot, with as much rapidity as his great age would suffer him; and, a price having been set upon his head, he often found it necessary to conceal himself among rocks and caves, in order to preserve his life. Finding, near the close of the first day of his flight, that the soldiers of Sylla were just upon his track, he plunged into a dismal swamp, and, burying himself up to his neck in the sickening mud, there remained during the entire night. Trembling with the cold, and half dead with weariness, he left his hiding-place at break of day, and stealthily pursuing his course towards the sea-coast, hoped that he might meet some vessel that would carry him away from Italy. He had not, however, proceeded very far before he encountered a

Marius taken—He is condemned to Death.

party of persons from the city of Minturnæ, who, perhaps, hearing of the reward that had been offered for his head, were out in search of him. Being easily recognized by some one among them who had often seen him, he was at once seized, and stripped of all his clothing. A rope was then placed around his neck, and the poor old man was dragged along the road, amid the shouts of a rabble that soon gathered about his heels. In this condition he was carried into the city of Minturnæ, and delivered up to the magistrates, who cast him immediately into prison.

After a short conference, these magistrates determined, agreeably to the edict of the Roman Senate, to put Marius to death, and accordingly sent to his prison a public executioner, who was a Cimbrian by birth. Marius, on seeing the man enter the prison sword in hand, easily guessed his errand, and drawing up his tall form to its utmost height, fixed upon him such a terrible look from beneath his shaggy brows, that the frightened Cimbrian stood transfixed upon the spot. "Thou barbarian!" shouted the old Roman general, in a voice of thunder. "How darest thou come hither, sword in hand, to take the life of Caius Marius? Begone, vile slave!"

He escapes Death—Goes to Africa.

The Cimbrian, terrified by the voice as well as by the name of Marius, sprang through the prison door, and rushing into the presence of the magistrates, declared that it was not in his power to take the life of such a man. The magistrates, seeing the frightened appearance of their executioner, concluded that the gods had interfered to save the life of Marius, and, without delay, proceeded to set him free. They even furnished him with a vessel, which carried him to the island of Ænaria, whence, learning that his son had taken refuge at the court of Numidia, he determined to pass into Africa. A storm having arisen, he was obliged to put into one of the ports of Sicily, where he encountered further difficulty. He had scarcely set his foot upon the shore, when the Roman quæstor in command of that country, happening to be upon the spot, recognized him and ordered him to be seized. A tumult at once arose between the officers of the quæstor and the men belonging to the vessel of Marius, which resulted in the loss of sixteen of the latter. Marius himself escaped, and, a few days after, reaching the coast of Africa, landed near Carthage.

In this ruined city he hoped to find, at last, a place of safety, especially as he had always

Marius sitting upon the Ruins of Carthage.

been a friend to Sextilius, the governor of the province. He had not, however, been here long when a lictor approached him with orders from Sextilius, that he should depart, at once, from his government, under penalty of being prosecuted as an enemy of the Roman State. Overcome with grief that he, who had once been the master of the whole world, could not now find for himself, in any country upon the earth, a resting-place for his foot, he sat and gazed in the face of the lictor without offering a word in answer. Pressed, however, for a reply, he finally exclaimed: "Go and tell your master, that you have seen Caius Marius, banished his native country, sitting upon the ruins of Carthage."

But Marius did not wait to know what effect this warning, as to the uncertainty of fortune, might have upon the Roman governor. Rising from his humble seat, he went at once upon the vessel, which was still at hand, and spent the ensuing winter in wandering along the coast of Africa, waiting the return of a servant whom he had dispatched to his son, who was in that country. To his great surprise, young Marius himself returned, and together they sailed to the island Cercina, where they received information of the proceedings of Cinna.

Cinna invites Marius to join him.

With as little delay as possible, Marius sent a messenger to Cinna, offering to aid him in his intended attack upon Rome. In reply, Cinna dispatched a letter addressed to him as proconsul, and sent to him also lictors, and all the other insignia of that dignity. But Marius returning them all, as not agreeing with his present circumstances, set out for the camp of Cinna in nothing but an old gown, and with his hair and beard rough and unshorn.

The news soon flew to Rome, that Marius had returned to Italy with a design to render aid to Cinna; and, immediately, more than five hundred citizens went out to join him. Encouraged thus, he visited a number of the towns upon his route, and, by means of handsome promises, induced great numbers of people to join his standard. Many also of the Roman soldiers, who had formerly been under him, came and offered their services; so that in a short time his own army, added to that of Cinna, was thought sufficient to march against Rome.

In the mean time, active preparations had been made for the defence of the city. The consul Octavius, did not, unfortunately, enjoy that popularity among his troops so necessary to the successful conduct of the affairs of war.

Rome threatened by Marius and Cinna.

The Senate, therefore, in the absence of Sylla, who was far away in Asia, fighting against Mithridates, sent for Cecilius Metellus, a man of great courage and ability, then engaged in making war upon the Samnites. They wrote to Metellus, instructing him to bring back his army to Rome, if he could make honorable conditions with the enemy; and, at the same time, charging him, in case he should not be able to do this, to leave it in care of his lieutenants and return himself. Through the management of Marius, the Samnites refused to come to terms, and Metellus was consequently obliged to go to Rome alone.

On his arrival, the soldiers of Octavius loudly demanded Metellus for their general, declaring that under him they would brave the greatest warrior that could be brought against them. But he refused, so decidedly, to listen to their seditious language, that many of them, offended, went over to Marius, who created still farther disorder in the city, by offering freedom to all the slaves who would join his army. Meantime, a great clamor arising among the people on account of the scarcity of food, the Senate were compelled to send deputies to Cinna, to make him some overtures of peace. But Cinna being unwilling to receive them,

Cinna restored to the Consulship.

unless they acknowledged him as consul, they were forced to return to Rome.

This was a very trying situation for the Senate. On the one hand, the city was so closely besieged by the armies of Marius and Cinna, that no food could anywhere be procured. On the other hand, the appointment of Merula to the office of consul could not be repealed, and Cinna would grant relief only on condition that this office should be declared his own. Under such circumstances, it was impossible to do any thing; but, with great generosity, Merula came into the Senate, and voluntarily laid down the consulship. The Senate now sent deputies again to Cinna, inviting him to enter Rome, and assume the office of consul. Nothing was demanded of him but an oath, that he would put none of his fellow-citizens to death, except in accordance with the usual course of law. But this oath he would not take, although he promised that he would never give his consent to the death of any one.

Every one in Rome was not, of course, satisfied with these proceedings. Metellus chose to banish himself rather than acknowledge Cinna; but the consul Octavius, whom Cinna had requested to leave the city, arrayed himself in his consular habit, and, placing himself on his

tribunal, resolved to meet his fate. Cinna and Marius marched to the gates, the former entering with his guards, while the latter, remaining outside, refused to go in until the decree which proscribed him had been repealed by the people. It was, therefore, necessary to call an assembly of the tribes, but the vote had not been half taken, when the furious man burst into the town at the head of his lawless troops, and murdered every one that he could find of those whom he supposed to be his enemies. The consul Octavius was slain in his tribunal; and Merula, knowing that he would meet a similar fate, opened his own veins and died. The whole city presented a dreadful sight. Blood flowed on every side, and the dead, both of the patricians and the plebeians, lay unburied in the streets. The soldiers of Marius had orders to kill all those whose salute he did not return, so that his friends and officers were afraid to come into his presence.

This bloodthirsty man was not, however, satisfied. He had not yet been able to lay his hand upon Sylla, on whom he longed, more than on all others, to vent his rage. This hateful rival was far away, fighting the battles of the Republic in distant lands. Still, the old monster sought to do him all the injury he

Cinna and Marius made Consuls.

could. He razed his house to the ground, confiscated his goods, and sought to slay his wife and children, who, however, fortunately escaped his fury. By means of the power which he exercised over the Senate, he caused all the laws established during Sylla's consulship to be revoked, and also had this valiant soldier declared an enemy of the commonwealth.

When the season for another election of consuls again occurred, Cinna and Marius managed to be chosen to this high office; but by this time news was brought that Sylla had put an end to the Mithridatic war, and that, having reduced the provinces, he was returning with a large army to Rome. The two consuls were naturally alarmed by this intelligence, for they would now have no ordinary leaders like Octavius and Merula to contend with, but a skilful general, who had formerly driven Marius himself from his country, and who had recently maintained a successful war with one of the most powerful monarchs of the East. Marius especially was terribly disturbed. He had already experienced all the miseries of banishment and flight, and, old age now full upon him, he trembled at the thought of encountering them again. So great was his anxiety that he was unable to sleep either by day

The Death of Marius.

or night, and, unable any longer to endure it, he abandoned himself to excessive drinking. Although he might have found in this way a temporary relief for his harassed mind, he rapidly sank beneath it, and before the arrival of Sylla, fell into a pleuritic fever which terminated his wretched life. Thus, at the age of seventy years, died the unhappy Marius, who had been seven times consul of Rome, and who, had it not been for his execrable ambition, might have won the admiration and gratitude of his country. The news of his death was received with the greatest joy, and every Roman leaped as if a load of shackles had been stricken from his body.

CIVIL WARS AND CONSPIRACIES.

FROM 86 TO 62 B. C.

MITHRIDATES and Sylla—Sylla returns to Italy—His Contest with young Marius—The Siege of Preneste—Telesinus attacks Rome—He is defeated by Sylla—Cruel Conduct of Sylla—His Usurpation of Power—His Abdication thereof—His Death and its Consequences—The Servile War—Defeat of Spartacus—Crassus and Pompey—Character of Catiline—His Conspiracy against Rome—Discovery of his Plans by Cicero—Means taken to defend the City—Cicero accuses Catiline before the Senate—Catiline leaves Rome—The Ambassadors of the Allobroges—Their betrayal of the Conspirators—Defeat and Death of Catiline—Honor paid to Cicero.

X.

CIVIL WARS AND CONSPIRACIES.

MANY things conspired to delay Sylla in his return to Italy, and among them, especially, were the difficulties which he had in concluding a peace with Mithridates, together with the annoyances thrown in his way by the army under the command of Valerius Flaccus, which was sent by Cinna into Asia against Mithridates, under pretence that the war which Sylla had made upon that prince was disowned by the commonwealth. This army consisted of two legions; but its leader, the consul Valerius, was a man of such a tyrannical and violent spirit, that his soldiers did not hesitate to second the ambitious designs of his lieutenant, Fimbria, who, immediately upon their arrival in Asia, aspired to the supreme command. Valerius was slain by the hand of Fimbria himself, and this base man at once took the place of the

general whom he had sworn to follow and obey.

Mithridates was not ignorant of what had taken place in Rome, and he knew well enough how anxious Sylla was to be at liberty to hasten thither. In hopes, then, of securing terms more favorable to himself, he made use of every means to detain and wear out the Roman general. Different parties were intrusted with negotiating between the two great hostile leaders, and different terms were several times proposed, without coming to a satisfactory conclusion, until, finally, the patience of Sylla being exhausted, he spoke with so much fierceness to the ambassadors of Mithridates that they went terrified to their master, and advised him, if he valued his life and crown, to come speedily to terms with the fiery Roman. Mithridates then desired a personal interview with Sylla—because, by making peace with him, he would not be free from the war which Fimbria was carrying on against him.

To this interview Sylla readily agreed, and they met at Dardanum, a town of Troas. On approaching the Roman general, Mithridates held out his hand to him, in token of friendship; but Sylla, drawing back, asked him whether he accepted of the peace upon the

Sylla, by Stratagem, gains the Army of Fimbria.

conditions last proposed. The haughty monarch of the East was so confounded by the superior haughtiness of the Roman general, that he could scarcely find words for utterance, and, like an abashed maiden, faintly murmured that he was willing to accept the terms. Upon this Sylla embraced him, and assured him that he would soon put Fimbria out of a condition to give him any further trouble.

Faithful to his word, Sylla marched, without delay, against Fimbria, and pitched his camp close by that of his treacherous rival. With as little loss of time as possible, he sent him a summons to surrender up to him, as proconsul, the command which he had so basely obtained, without the consent of either the Senate or the Roman people. But Fimbria refused to comply with his request, and thereupon both applied themselves to the fortifying of their respective camps. The soldiers of both parties being, however, of the same nation, and chiefly of the same city, it was quite natural that, in a foreign land, they should be rather disposed to friendship than to hostility. Consequently, when they met, they saluted one another, and by degrees visited from camp to camp clandestinely, until at length it was impossible to make them oppose each other in deadly battle.

Sylla returns to Italy—Cn. Pompeius.

Sylla knew how to take advantage of this. He instructed his own troops to encourage desertion from the camp of Fimbria, and, one day, this ridiculous general found himself all alone in the midst of his silent fortifications. Knowing that Sylla would punish him for his murder of Valerius, he fled to Pergamus, and there run himself through with his own sword.

With as much haste as possible, Sylla now set forward with his troops for Rome, and after many and long journeys, both by sea and land, finally arrived in Italy. The two consuls, Cinna and Carbo, hearing of his approach, ordered young Marius to raise forces, and likewise required the Samnites to assist them against their common enemy. It was the intention of Cinna to meet Sylla before he entered Italy, but a portion of his army refusing to go on board of the ships provided for their transportation, a tumult arose, during which a soldier, becoming enraged with Cinna, ran him through with his sword.

On reaching Italy, the army of Sylla was much increased by handsome bodies of troops brought to him by Metellus Pius and Marcus Crassus; but nothing gratified him more than the succors which he received from Cn. Pompeius, afterwards surnamed the Great. The

Sylla wins the Army of Scipio.

force brought to him by this young general, then only twenty-three years of age, consisted of three legions, which was truly a great addition to the army of Sylla, then numbering only thirty thousand men, while his enemy counted two hundred thousand, under the command of fifteen general officers of great experience and courage.

New accessions were thus daily made to the army of Sylla; and when, one day, L. Scipio, one of the consuls, encamped very near him, he contrived, under some pretence, to procure a short truce, during which his soldiers, as in the case of Fimbria, brought over to his standard a large number of the troops of Scipio. The whole matter was carried on so secretly that the consul himself suspected nothing, until he was arrested in his own tent by Sylla's soldiers, and carried to their general. His army was also much augmented through the aid of agents, whom he sent to the very foot of the Alps, in order to gain the Cisalpine Gauls. But young Marius, scarcely less active than he, procured, daily, large forces to oppose him; and, among others, obtained of the Samnites forty thousand men, whom he placed under the command of Pontius Telesinus, the ablest warrior of their nation. Having been elected to the dignity of

Marius routed by Sylla, and besieged in Preneste.

consul, and feeling himself ably supported, he resolved to give Sylla battle, and accordingly, at the head of eighty cohorts, took the field against him. The fight was long and bloody, and for a season seemed very doubtful, until the desertion of some of Marius's troops caused so much confusion that his whole army was broken up and put to flight, and he, himself, compelled to take refuge in Preneste, a well-fortified place close at hand.

Imagining that he should conclude the war by capturing the general, Sylla at once proceeded to invest Preneste. After causing lines, strengthened with redoubts, to be thrown up, ditches to be dug, and all the avenues to the place to be strongly guarded, he marched with a detachment towards Rome. Entering the city without any opposition, he called the people together, and having complained of the manner in which they had suffered themselves to be misled by his enemies, he sold the goods of Marius and his followers, and then returned to his army to endeavor, by the capture of Marius, to terminate the war.

The attention of all Italy was now directed towards Preneste, where Marius, shut up, was trying to elude the grasp of Sylla. His immense armies, under the direction of skilful

Telesinus marches to Rome.

generals, were striving to gain access to him at every point; but the armies of Sylla, ever on the watch, constantly defeated all their plans, and battle after battle was fought, and thousands upon thousands were slain, without affording the least relief to Marius. Thus affairs continued, until only three of the great chieftains of Marius, with but four legions of troops, remained to battle in his cause. These, joining Telesinus, general of the Samnites, resolved obstinately to continue the war. Designing to force the lines, Telesinus came forward, at the head of his sixty thousand troops. Sylla, sending Pompey to attack him in the rear, prepared to assault him vigorously in front; but the cunning Samnite, taking advantage of the darkness, flew with all speed towards Rome; and with so much eagerness did he pursue his march, that in the morning the van of his army was seen from the hills about the city. The inhabitants, terrified by such a host of people, who, as they knew, held them in deadliest hatred, flew to the gates, and, closing them, prepared to defend their walls. Onward came Telesinus, concealing nothing of the evil which he intended towards a city hateful to all his nation. When close upon it, and ready for his operations, he walked through all

Sylla opposes him.

the ranks and lines of his army, exclaiming—
“We must cut down that forest where those ravenous wolves take shelter. Let fire and sword destroy all—spare nothing; mankind can never be free as long as any Romans remain alive.”

The people, under the command of Appius Claudius, sustained nobly the attack of Telesinus. No one hesitated to fight for their homes and property; and, although Appius was killed in the early part of the engagement, they succeeded in keeping off the Samnites, until Sylla should be able to come to their aid. This he did with all diligence. Telesinus met him near the city, and a battle for its possession at once ensued. It was a very bloody affair. Both armies fought with the courage of desperation. Victory or death appeared to be the motto of every soldier on the field, and for a while the contest seemed extremely doubtful. At last the Samnites, gaining a considerable advantage over the troops of Sylla, pushed them so hard that several of his cohorts and entire legions gave way and fled. With sword in hand, Sylla endeavored to arrest them; but the terror-stricken and disordered soldiers, giving no heed to his commands, rushed into the gates of Rome. The inhabitants, fearing that

Telesinus overcome—Preneste surrenders.

the Samnites would enter with them, shut, with all haste, the gates, and letting fall the portcullis, killed a great number of persons, and among them several senators in Sylla's army. All retreat being thus cut off to a large portion of his army, they were obliged to turn about and face the enemy, who were close upon them. But night coming on in the midst of the conflict, both parties were compelled to suspend, and Sylla retired to his camp. He ascertained, however, that the left wing of his army, under command of Crassus, had overcome the enemy, and covered the field with more than fifty thousand slain, among whom was Telesinus, the general of the Samnites. Eight thousand were also taken prisoners; and the next day Sylla caused all these to be shot to death with darts.

The inhabitants of Preneste, among whom Marius had taken refuge, opened their gates as soon as they heard of Sylla's victory, and Marius and a brother of Telesinus endeavored to escape by a subterraneous passage, but failing in their attempt, they killed each other, in order that they might not fall alive into the hands of the enemy. The people of the town were all put to death, except the women and the children; and Sylla, finding his enemies

finally subdued, entered Rome at the head of his victorious troops.

But the glory which Sylla had acquired in war was destined to be tarnished by the monstrous acts of which he was author during the peace that followed. The remnant of the large armies that had opposed him, desirous of quarter, sent deputies to intercede with him. He replied, that he would spare all those who made themselves worthy of life by slaying their companions. These unfortunate men thereupon turned their arms against each other, and a terrible slaughter followed. Six thousand of them, however, escaped and came to Rome. These, Sylla caused to be shut up in the Hippodrome, and then sending his troops into the place, butchered them in cold blood. Soon after this, he proscribed eighty senators, sixteen hundred knights, and a large number of the richest citizens of Rome. For the murder of each of these, he offered a reward of two talents, and even paid the money to the very slaves for the assassination of their masters.

But his cruelty was not limited to the party of Marius. He permitted his friends and officers to revenge themselves upon all their private enemies, so that the streets of Rome continually flowed with blood. No one was sure

He declares himself Perpetual Dictator.

of living a single day, and every one dreaded to encounter the glance of this cruel monster. One man, C. Metellus, was, however, courageous enough to rise up in the midst of the Senate, and ask Sylla to put a stop to the misery of his fellow-citizens. "We do not ask you," said Metellus, "to forgive any of those whom you have resolved shall die; but pray you to free us from an uncertainty worse than death itself, by letting us know whom you design to spare." Sylla coolly replied, that he had not yet fixed upon the number of those whom he should allow to live; that he had proscribed such as his memory presented to him, and that he should continue to proscribe all that he could remember among his enemies.

As if maddened by the sight of the torrents of blood which he had shed, he now began to proscribe whole towns and nations, slaying such as he pleased, and stripping the inhabitants of their houses and lands, in order to reward the soldiers who assisted him in his work of death and desolation. He also declared himself perpetual Dictator, and thus changed, in fact, the government from a republican to a kingly form. All the ancient laws were abrogated—new ones were created. He made himself master of the public treasures,

Resigns voluntarily his Authority.

and disposed, according to his pleasure, of all the estates and fortunes of his fellow-citizens. It is true that he suffered the Senate, and most of the principal officers to remain, but their authority was absolutely nothing, and the inducements to seek them were almost wholly taken away.

But the most extraordinary thing concerning Sylla is yet to be related. Incredible as it may seem, this singular man, after having destroyed more than a hundred thousand of his fellow-citizens in the civil war; after having caused the massacre of ninety senators and twenty-six hundred knights, went into the Forum, and, in the presence of the assembled people, took from his own person the emblems of his office, sent away his lictors, dismissed his guards, and voluntarily resigned the office which he had usurped, and which he might have long continued to hold. It is natural to suppose that the fear of being torn to pieces by a deeply-injured people, would have deterred him from an act so bold as this. But his chief passion had been revenge, and this being at last satiated by the seas of blood which he had spilt, he cared for nothing more, not even power or life. The multitude were thunderstruck at what he did. They could not believe their eyes, and

Sylla's Death—His Epitaph.

gazed with silence and awe upon him as he stepped down from his tribunal, and mingled, like a private man, among the people, who, a moment before, bowed and trembled in his presence. And strange, too, as it may seem, this very prince of murderers walked forth alone into the open street, and proceeded without any molestation to his own house. It is said that one young man addressed to him some insulting language, which Sylla disdained to answer; but the Romans, generally, deemed this act of abdication the last and greatest effort of magnanimity and heroism. They never attempted to punish his murders, although he declared that he was ready and willing to be tried for any of his deeds. Not long after this event Sylla died, in his own bed, as quietly as the most peaceful citizen of the commonwealth could have desired. A few days before his death he wrote his own epitaph, the substance of which was—"That nobody had ever outdone him, either in obliging his friends, or in persecuting his enemies."

Dissensions and civil wars did not cease at the death of Sylla. The grave, indeed, had scarcely closed upon him, when the consul Lepidus undertook to make himself the master of the government. To attain his object, it was

necessary to make himself the leader of a party; but as Pompey, Metellus, Crassus, and even his colleague, Catulus, were chiefs of the patrician side, in whose favor he had declared himself, he believed that he should be more successful by going over to the party of Marius, whose leaders had been destroyed in the civil war.

At the expiration of his consulate, being appointed to the government of Gallia Cisalpina, he began at once to raise an army, and gained to his party the prætorians, Brutus and Perpenna. Inviting the people of Rome, and especially those belonging to the party of Marius, to join him, he marched towards the city, with the fond hope that he should become another Sylla. But Catulus, at the head of the legions and of all the nobility, charged him with so much vigor, that his army was cut to pieces, and he himself compelled to fly. Mortified by his ill success, and sorely grieved by certain private matters, he died soon after, and with him his party fell. Brutus, one of his coadjutors, having been overcome by Pompey, was assassinated a few days after by orders of that general; and Perpenna, the remaining chief, thus finding himself at the head of thirty-two thousand men, marched into Spain, according

to the example of Sertorius, a general of great fame, who yet maintained the party of Marius at Lusitania.

The Senate, in order to preserve those provinces, sent Pompey, with a large army, against these two generals. A great many battles took place, without much advantage on either side, until the death of Sertorius, which was occasioned by the jealousy of Perpenna. This unskilful general was then easily beaten by Pompey, who, ordering his head to be cut off, put an end to the Spanish war.

In the mean time a very dangerous war had been excited in Rome by one Spartacus, a Thracian gladiator, who, with seventy comrades, had escaped from imprisonment in Capua. Having been joined by a multitude of runaway slaves and peasantry from the neighborhood, he fought and gained a number of considerable battles. Finding himself, finally, at the head of sixty thousand men, he occasioned so much alarm, that the two consuls were sent out with two legions to subdue him. These he succeeded in defeating, and, with his victorious troops, was on his way to Rome, when Crassus, at the head of a powerful army, went out to meet him. Reaching Spartacus near Rhegium, the Roman general surrounded

Spartacus overcome—Crassus and Pompey.

him with a ditch, six miles in length; but Spartacus evaded him by night, and continued his march towards the city. Crassus, however, determined that he should not thus escape; and following closely after, compelled him to engage, and finally overcame him after an obstinate conflict. Sixty thousand of his followers were slain, six thousand were taken prisoners, and he himself, it is said, fell, fighting on his knees upon a heap of fallen enemies.

A large number of these troops of Spartacus escaping, fled into the neighboring mountains, where Pompey, on his return from Spain, met with, and easily defeated them. By this achievement he sought to raise his own glory, to the disparagement of Crassus; and this, together with other matters, was the cause of the jealousy which existed between them, when, subsequently, they were both elevated to the consulship. This jealousy was, however, the means of giving great pleasure to the people of Rome. Crassus, to win their affection, gave them an entertainment upon a thousand long, and well-spread, tables. He also distributed corn enough to all the populace to maintain their families three whole months. Pompey, on the other hand, to outdo Crassus, restored to the Tribunes all the authority of which they

had been deprived by Sylla, and by this measure made himself the idol of the people, who, during the war with the Pirates, which occurred soon after, conferred upon him such unlimited powers, that he might easily have become sole sovereign of the commonwealth.

The success which attended him in this war, was the reason for appointing him to the command of the army that had been sent out against Mithridates; and the decree that gave him this, gave him also the government of Asia, and the superintendency of the vast naval power, with which he had subdued the Pirates. At the time of his departure, Rome, then the mistress of the world, seemed to be in the enjoyment of a profound peace. So far as external appearances could be an indication, union subsisted among her citizens, and an unusual prosperity in all her affairs. But beneath all this seeming tranquillity, a secret agitation was going on; and new parties and new schemes were in process of formation, which could bring about nothing short of anarchy and despotism.

At the head of one of these dangerous parties was Lucius Sergius Catiline, a descendant of an illustrious patrician family, and one of the ministers of the cruelty of Sylla, to whose cause

he had ever been devoted. Murder, rapine, and conflagration had been the first deeds and pleasures of this formidable man ; and, withal, he possessed such powers of dissimulation as enabled him to throw a veil over his horrid vices, and render himself agreeable to the just and good. Of the many terrible crimes which he is said to have committed, that of the murder of his wife and son may be regarded as a specimen of such as are not too disgusting to relate.

At a time when Rome had grown rich by the spoils of so many conquered nations ; when ambition, luxury, effeminacy, and all the vices inseparable from wealth were exerting their baneful influences, it is easy to imagine that a man like Catiline could find those who would be willing to second him in any plot which he might form, either against private or public interests. Indeed, there were hundreds of young men, who, having consumed the patrimony of their ancestors in extravagance and riotous living, were ready to do any thing which could relieve them from their enormous debts, and promote the gratification of their depraved desires. As they could, through the high offices of the State, find every facility to attain their wishes, they sought to fill them with persons of

Conspiracy against the Government.

their own character. But being baffled in their efforts to do this, there were some of them who determined to assassinate the principal officers of the State, and seize upon the government.

Catiline, foremost in every thing evil, was, of course, a prominent leader upon this occasion; and, through the influence which he could use as a member of the Senate, he contrived to draw into the plot a great number of senators, knights, and notable men, who, from different motives, were willing to join him. Among these were Lentulus, an unprincipled man, who had been consul with Marius; and Cethegus, formerly a Tribune of the People, whom he governed at his own pleasure. So, also, in this great conspiracy, were many women of the best families in Rome, as, for instance, Sempronia, so remarkable for her high birth, lively wit, undaunted courage, and incomparable beauty. Indeed, as to numbers, it was sufficient for almost any purpose; for in it were engaged all those Roman youth who had ruined themselves by their licentious courses, all those who aspired to posts in the government, and all those who desired to be revenged upon their too powerful enemies. To these, Catiline made the most extravagant promises,

Discoveries made by Cicero.

on condition that they would elevate him to supreme power.

A conspiracy, in which so many were engaged, could not remain secret for a great length of time. Sooner or later, some one must prove a traitor; and, fortunately for the Roman people, it engaged the attention of such a man as Cicero. In a short time the whole city talked about it; but nothing definite was known, except that Catiline was at the head of a large party, who were aiming at some great revolution in the government. Many supposed that it was only the overthrow of Cicero, who had been preferred to him for the consulship. But Cicero was better informed. From the moment that he discovered that there was a secret combination in the city, he made every effort to discover those who were engaged in it, and what were their designs. He ascertained their places of meeting, and finally succeeded in introducing spies among them, who reported faithfully to him all their proceedings. To his surprise and sorrow, he learned that it was the intention of the desperate men to set fire to the city in several places, and, during the confusion that would necessarily follow, to murder the chief men of the Senate in their very houses. It was also a part of their plan to cause the

troops then under the command of Manlius to advance, in order to make themselves masters of Rome and of the government.

While all this was going on, news was unexpectedly brought that Pompey, having subdued Mithridates, was returning to Italy with a victorious army. This was sufficient to throw Catiline and all his party into the utmost consternation. They were speedily called together at night, in a private part of M. Lecca's house. Various plans were suggested for carrying their purposes into immediate execution; and finally it was resolved, on the night preceding the Saturnalia, to set fire to the city in a hundred different places; to cut the water-pipes, in order to prevent the extinguishment of the fire; to murder the whole Senate, and to seize Pompey's children, and hold them as hostages against his power and resentment. Thereupon Catiline was to place himself at the head of the forces of Manlius, and settle his authority in the State. Cethegus, and a Roman knight named Cornelius, volunteered to go and stab Cicero in his own house.

The correctness of this report being sufficiently established, on the following morning, by the appearance of Cethegus at Cicero's door, this prudent consul, at once, convened the Senate,

Means taken to defend the City.

to whom he communicated the whole plot, stating that he did not yet think it a proper time to name the persons by whom he had been informed. So great, however, was the confidence reposed in his probity, that without asking him to prove his allegations, he and his colleague were fully empowered to use all means necessary to protect the commonwealth.

Without delay, and as quietly as possible, the greatest preparations were made to defend the city. Guards were stationed in different parts to thwart the purposes of the incendiaries. Bodies of troops were raised and placed conveniently for action, and every thing was done which the occasion seemed to require. Meanwhile, a packet of letters, directed by some of the conspirators to different individuals, falling into the hands of Crassus, was brought by him into the Senate and there opened and read. They contained the whole plan of the conspiracy; and the persons for whom they were intended, were warned, if they valued their lives, to depart at once from Rome.

These letters produced a great sensation in the Senate; and while they were deliberating upon them, Catiline walked in and took his seat, with an air as innocent as that worn by the most upright man among them. But this

Cicero accuses Catiline before the Senate.

was more than Cicero could endure. Rising from the seat in which he was presiding over that august assembly, he fixed his eyes upon the guilty Catiline, and with that voice by which he was accustomed to astonish all who heard him, he exclaimed :

“How long, O Catiline, dost thou design to abuse our patience? How long are we yet to be the object of thy fury? How far dost thou intend to carry thy guilty audaciousness? Dost thou not perceive, by the continual watch all over the city, by the terrified looks of the people, and by the angry countenance of the senators, that thy pernicious designs are discovered? Faithful eyes are upon all thy proceedings; thou canst not hold any council so secret, but that I hear of it: I am present there myself; I am present to thy very thoughts. Dost thou fancy that I am ignorant of what passed, last night, at M. Lecca’s house? Didst thou not there distribute employments, and divide all Italy into shares with thy accomplices? Some are to take the field under the command of Manlius, and others to stay in the city, to fire it in a hundred different places at a time. During the disorder and tumult occasioned by so general a fire, the consuls, and most of the senators, are to be massacred in their own

Catiline attempts to answer Cicero.

houses. The Senate, that august and sacred assembly, is informed of the most minute circumstances of the plot; yet does Catiline live; not only lives, but is one among us, and looks on us as so many sacrifices. While I am now speaking, he is marking out those whom he designs for death; yet we are so patient, or rather so weak, that we are less intent on the method how to punish his crimes, than how we shall preserve ourselves from his fury."

Catiline, rising with a sneer upon his face, begged the Senate that they would not listen to the invectives of this enemy and low-born upstart, who, for the sake of getting for himself a name, could thus injure a high-born senator, by such unmitigated lies. But he was not allowed much time to speak. His guilt was already too apparent to be denied, and he was forced to stop in his harangue by a general murmuring, which finally broke out in loud and repeated accusations against him as an incendiary, a parricide, and an enemy of his country. His face pale with anger, and his eyes flashing with rage, he rushed from the senate-chamber, crying out, that, since they had provoked him to the utmost, he would not fall alone, but would involve in his own fate those who had sought his ruin.

Catiline leaves Rome—The Allobroges.

Calling together Lentulus, Cethegus, and some of the other conspirators, he informed them of what had happened, and, urging them to lose no time in putting Cicero to death, he put himself at the head of three hundred armed men, and went directly to the camp of Manlius. Lentulus and the other chiefs set to work, in the mean time, to draw into their plot the ambassadors of the Allobroges who were then in Rome, making vain efforts to procure the discharge of their nation from the enormous taxes which they owed to the Roman State. The conspirators told these ambassadors that if they would join Catiline, every surety would be given them of a general discharge of their debts.

The ambassadors listened with attention to these proposals, but concluded, upon consulting together, that they would gain more in the end by making a revelation of this scheme to the Senate. Going therefore to Cicero, they obtained all the promises that they could desire, and then returning to the conspirators, pretended to accept their offers, and received a written agreement from them signed by Lentulus and the principal chiefs of Catiline. With this, retracing their steps to Cicero, they informed him that on the following night they should proceed, under an escort, to the camp of Cati-

Conspirators betrayed by the Allobroges.

line, with letters to him containing the plan of the conspiracy. Acting upon this information, Cicero sent a sufficient number of armed men to intercept these Allobroges; and, having seized the papers in their possession, he was furnished with all the evidence necessary for causing the immediate arrest of Lentulus, Cethegus, and other prominent coadjutors of Catiline.

The Senate was at once convened; and the conspirators, being convicted by their own handwriting, were severally carried to separate prisons. In order to prevent the possibility of their escape, Cicero determined that the Senate should decide, at once, concerning them. Each senator being accordingly asked to give his opinion, the conspirators were condemned to death by the consent of all except Julius Cæsar, who made a long speech in favor of sparing their lives until Catiline should be vanquished. Sentence of death was pronounced upon them, and without waiting for its confirmation by an assembly of the people, Cicero caused them to be executed within an hour afterwards.

The news of their death fell like a thunderbolt, scattering the multitude of their accomplices still in the city; and when it reached

The Destruction of the Conspirators.

the camp of Catiline, many persons who had been attracted to his standard by the hope of plunder, fled in the utmost terror. But, in no-wise daunted, the bold conspirator made new levies of troops, and only seemed more eager to drink the blood of his countrymen.

Defeated in the plan which he had formed for taking possession of Rome, he determined to pass over into Gaul. But in this he was also disappointed. A powerful army was sent out to cut off his retreat; and, finding himself soon surrounded by his foes, he was compelled to come to battle. The fight was long and obstinate. The soldiers of Catiline knew that they must either conquer or die, and accordingly they neither gave nor asked quarter. As an inevitable consequence, they were all slain upon the field; and Catiline himself was killed as he stood fighting upon a heap of his fallen enemies.

When it was known from how dangerous a plot the city had been saved through the unwearied efforts of Cicero, nothing could exceed the praise bestowed upon him by all the citizens. His house was surrounded by people who came to do him honor. Even the women put lights in their windows in token of their gratitude. Almost ready to worship him, every

Honor paid to Cicero.

one declared that he was the second founder of Rome and the father of his country. And, without doubt, he merited the character given to him by the Emperor Augustus, in these words: "He was a good citizen, who loved his country sincerely."

JULIUS CÆSAR.

FROM 62 TO 35 B. C.

POMPEY and Cæsar—Cunning of Cæsar—His Ill-treatment of Cicero—His Conquests—His Love of Money—Jealousy of Pompey—Pompey made Consul—Cæsar demands the same Office and fails—He threatens Rome, and is declared the Enemy of the Commonwealth—He marches against the City—Defeats Pompey—Is made Consul and Dictator—Urged to assume the Title of King—Conspiracy formed against him—His Assassination—Its Consequences—Marc Antony—Cæsar's Will—Antony's Oration—Octavius returns to Rome—Antony's Jealousy—Octavius' Success—He is made Consul—The Conspirators proscribed—Octavius and Antony reconciled—The Triumviri—The Battle of Philippi—The End of the Commonwealth.



ASSASSINATION OF JULIUS CÆSAR.

XI.

JULIUS CÆSAR.

BEYOND the mere name of a Republic, the government of Rome had by this time little enough to boast. The whole administration was limited to a few noble families, who passed the consular dignity about to one another as they pleased. The sovereignty of the people was almost gone; and, except in a very few men like Cato, Cicero, and Catullus, there was little honesty or patriotism to be found in any one.

Two remarkable men were at this time dividing the attention of the whole Roman people. One of them was Cneus Pompey, an illustrious general, who had won laurels in every part of the known world, and who, in consideration of his splendid achievements, had received the surname of *Magnus* (Great). He was a man of untainted morals, kind, mild, and humane;

and, if he was not possessed of true patriotism, he had not any of that ambition which may lead one to become a destroyer of freedom. That any one should pretend to an equal share of the glory which he had acquired was highly offensive to him; and this was, doubtless, the cause of the enmity which sprang up between him and Julius Cæsar, a general of undoubted valor, exalted courage, and wonderful ability. It could not be otherwise than that two parties should spring up in the commonwealth, led respectively by these two illustrious rivals. Pompey, who was at the head of the Senate, drew after him, naturally, those who sympathized with the nobility of Rome; and Cæsar, who could be first in no other position, undertook to revive the party of Marius, which was really that of the plebeians. Having been publicly impeached for causing the statue of Marius to be secretly placed in the capitol, he defended himself with so much eloquence, that he not only secured his own absolution, but also procured the recall of those who had been banished during the dictatorship of Sylla.

Pompey did not, however, share the undivided favor of the Senate. In the wealthy and ambitious Crassus, he had an enemy and a rival in the government, dreaded, at first, even

more than Cæsar ; so that while he had to contend against the growing popularity of the latter, he was also obliged to guard against being supplanted by the former. But Cæsar, a man of far more shrewdness than either, knew that his success depended upon diverting their attention from him, and causing as much mutual dread as possible between them. So well did he succeed in this, that he obtained, through their united influence, the consulate ; but he had no sooner arrived to this dignity, than he managed, by a master-piece of cunning, to create an enmity between Pompey and the Senate, and between the Senate and the people. This he contrived to do by undertaking to revive the Agrarian law, which Pompey and Crassus consented to advocate, and which their respective friends in the Senate could not fail to oppose. The passage of the law was procured ; but Cæsar alone gained the applauses of the people for whose benefit it was made.

Thus Pompey, distrusted and cast out by his patrician friends, became, in a measure, dependent upon his rival Cæsar, who, knowing too well the importance of keeping him quiet, obtained for him the government of both Spains, while he gave that of Syria to Crassus, and at the same time secured for himself the govern-

His Ill-treatment of Cicero.

ment of Illyricum and Gaul for the space of five years. So powerful, indeed, did he become, that he was able to use force towards his enemies and all those who dared to oppose him. Cato, at his command, was put under arrest; and Bibulus, his colleague in the consulship, was driven out of the Forum by the people; his fasces were broken, his lictors beaten, and he himself forced to lie a long time concealed in order to save his life. The great Lucullus, who had so gloriously conquered the powerful Mithridates, was compelled to fall at Cæsar's feet in a full assembly, and then to retire from public business. Nor did Cæsar even hesitate to unite himself with the infamous Clodius in order to ruin the great and good Cicero, whom, for a frivolous reason, he caused to be impeached before an assembly of the people; and when this excellent man found himself abandoned by all his former friends, now the creatures of Cæsar, he quitted Rome by night, and retired into Greece. His houses, both in the city and country, were immediately razed to the ground, and his goods sold at auction by the common officers of the law.

Cæsar, on going to take possession of the government of Gallia Cisalpina, which, at the close of his consulship, he chose for himself,

set out at the head of an immense army, with the intention of conquering the whole country, in hopes that he should thus be furnished with great treasures. The vast number of battles which he fought during this absence of ten years from Rome, and the splendid victories which he achieved, raised him to the highest rank among the captains of the Roman people. The Helvetians, after the most obstinate fighting, were driven by him into their mountains; the Belgians were subjected to his authority. In short, he conquered all Gaul, and then, crossing the sea, set up his standard in Great Britain. Eight hundred cities are said to have yielded either to the force, or terror, of his arms. Three hundred different nations submitted to his laws; and of three millions of men whom he defeated in battle, one million were slain and another million taken prisoners. But with so many brilliant achievements, he was guilty of a thousand disgraceful acts. His immoderate ambition and insatiable desire of acquiring riches, caused him to set a price upon every thing which could bring him money. Places, governments, wars, alliances, all had their value in gold; and the very temples of the gods, and the lands of the Roman allies, were compelled to pour their treasures at his

His Love of Money—He acquires Friends.

feet. But the splendor of his victories, and the gratitude and love of his well-paid countrymen, united to give to his robberies the name of great political actions; and the gods themselves were thanked in solemn form for the sacrileges which he had successfully committed against them.

It is not strange that Cæsar should love money, for, certainly, no man better understood its value. With it, he, no doubt, purchased a great deal of that strong attachment which his soldiers testified for him, and to which he was chiefly indebted for his extraordinary success. Their fortunes depended upon his own, and he never failed to reward them generously from the treasures which they enabled him to accumulate. With an eye ever upon the future, he assigned lands and possessions to those who served him with most fidelity. He paid the debts of his principal officers, and caused all to regard him as an honest steward, intrusted with riches ever at their command, while faithful and valorous in the discharge of their duties. But his soldiers and officers were not the sole recipients of his boundless wealth. The Senate itself was in his pay, and the chief offices in the commonwealth were the purchased possessions of his creatures.

The growing influence of Cæsar could not fail to attract the attention of his rival Pompey, who blushed at the thought that he had been outdone by a man to whom he had ever supposed himself superior. Crassus, who had always held the balance of power in his own hands, was no longer living; and now it was evident that a struggle for supremacy must soon ensue between these two leaders of the Roman people. Though still at the head of his government in Gaul, Cæsar was able to carry on his operations in the centre of Rome. His candidates for office came openly with money in their hands to purchase, but were very often beaten back by force and violence. So dreadful were these disputes, on some occasions, that no elections could be held, and Rome was actually, at one time, during eight months, deprived of magistrates. Pompey, doubtless, did his share in causing this confusion; and his friends took the opportunity to declare that such a state of things demanded the immediate creation of a Dictator, and, at the same time, shrewdly named him for the office. The wise and good Cato, fearing for the safety of the Republic, declaimed loudly against such a course, and, at his suggestion, Pompey was simply clothed with the power of

Cæsar demands the Office—His Failure.

sole consul, amenable to the people for all his actions on the expiration of his office.

Cæsar, taking advantage of a precedent thus established, demanded, in his turn, to be made sole consul, and likewise the continuation of his governments abroad. But his proposition was opposed by the adherents of Pompey, on the ground that custom required a candidate for the consulship to be present, in person, at Rome during the time of an election. The office was consequently conferred on Marcellus and Lentulus, two of the most prominent of Pompey's friends. Pompey himself made no open opposition to Cæsar; but, as he began to feel some dread of the fortune and valor of this great commander, he tried, in a secret manner, to deprive him of his government of Gaul. Measures were concerted with the Senate to appoint some one as his successor, and every thing possible was done to bring it about.

In the mean time, Cæsar, not ignorant of what was going on at home, wrote several times to the Senate, requiring that they should either continue him in his government, or allow him to be a candidate for the consulate, notwithstanding his absence from Rome. But his opponents succeeding in opposing his demands, he passed the Alps at the head of one of his

He threatens Rome—Is declared an Enemy.

trusty legions, and halted at Ravenna. From this place he sent to the Senate one of his lieutenants, intrusted with letters, in which, relating in a lofty manner all his exploits, he declared that, if justice was not done him, he would, in a few days, visit Rome, for the purpose of revenging his private injuries, as well as those suffered by his country.

This threat roused the whole Senate against him; and, appointing Lucius Domitius his successor in Gaul, they passed a decree that he should be prosecuted as an enemy of the commonwealth. Mark Antony, Curio, and Cassius, by virtue of their office as Tribunes, opposed earnestly this decree; but being driven forcibly out of the Senate, they went in all haste, disguised, to the camp of Cæsar.

Thus, again, the commonwealth was divided against itself, through the ambition of two men, who sought to subserve their own private interests, by pretending to take up arms in defence of the laws and liberty. It is true that Pompey had upon his side a greater appearance of justice, and that he was commissioned by the authorities of Rome to oppose Cæsar in their behalf; but Cæsar had upon his side the affections of the people, and he was, moreover, most powerful and most secure. It was, how-

Cæsar marches against Rome.

ever, with great reluctance that he resolved to march against his fellow-countrymen; and when he reached the river Rubicon, which divided his own government from the rest of Italy, he hesitated for some time, in view of the ruin which must certainly fall upon Rome if he passed over the little stream. "If I defer any longer the crossing of this river," said he to those about him, "I am undone; and if I do cross it, how many people shall I make wretched!" But it being, after all, more difficult for him to endure his own injuries unrevenged than to see his country all in desolation, he plunged into the river at the head of his troops, and crossing it, exclaimed—"It is done: the die is cast!"

With the rapidity which always characterized the movements of this wonderful soldier, he marched directly to Rimini, and made himself master of the place. The news of this achievement fell like a thunderbolt upon Rome. Already they fancied that his victorious legions were at their very gates; and Pompey, the two consuls, and a large number of senators, finding themselves entirely without troops, fled in terror from the city, leaving their wives and children to the mercy of their enemy. Onward came the victorious general.

His Pursuit of Pompey.

The gates of the defenceless city opened to receive him, and its immense treasures were seized, and divided among his faithful followers. Then began his terrible pursuit of Pompey, whom he seemed determined to hunt, with all his adherents, from every lurking-place upon the earth. He chased him from one part of Italy to another; subjected, within two months, every inch of its territory to his authority; then following his rival into Greece, finally met him, surrounded by an immense army on the plains of Pharsalia, where, falling upon his troops with a terrible slaughter, and even sacking his camp, he compelled him to fly for his life, on foot, and in a pitiful disguise. And at night, the great Pompey, who, for thirty-four years, had been used to conquer and carry all before him, was obliged to sleep in the miserable cabin of a fisherman.

Wandering from one place to another, he was finally induced to proceed to Egypt, where he was promised a favorable reception from the young Ptolemy, whose father had received benefits at his hands. But the base ministers of this youthful king, hearing of his approach, determined to seize and put him to death. On his arrival, a boat was sent from the shore to bring him from the vessel. Embracing his

wife and son, who had accompanied him, he stepped into it, though not without some fear of treachery; and, before reaching the land, he was shamefully murdered, and his headless body was left naked upon the beach.

The death of Pompey completed the fall of all his party, and Cæsar thus became the master of the world. On his return to Rome, he was appointed, by a decree of the Senate, consul for ten years, and perpetual Dictator. The name of *Imperator* was given to him, together with the august title of *Father of his Country*; and his person was declared sacred and inviolable. Every honor and dignity, in fact, were heaped upon him, so that nothing but the title was wanting to make him a king. This he would have unhesitatingly assumed, had he not known the hatred in which the Romans held the name. But his assumption of this title was precisely what his secret enemies desired; and the senators who had conferred so many honors on him, sought thereby only to render him odious, in order that they might the sooner bring about his ruin. He was even urged to place upon his head the crown; and when he was preparing himself to set out upon an expedition against the Parthians, the books of the Sibyls were produced to prove to him and to

Cæsar urged to take the Crown.

the people that the Parthians could never be vanquished, unless the Romans had a king for their general.

So zealous were the friends and flatterers of Cæsar in the prosecution of this matter, that a day was fixed upon on which it should be settled by a decree of the Senate; and it was proposed that in Rome, and throughout all Italy, he should be styled Dictator, but that he should be acknowledged a king, and take upon himself that title, in respect of all foreign nations subject to the Roman empire.

From this moment it was agreed, in private cabals, that the liberty of Rome could be preserved only by the death of the Dictator. Marcus Junius Brutus, whom Cæsar loved as his own son, and whom he held in the tenderest friendship, was at the head of this conspiracy. With him were Cassius, a zealous republican, and Casca, and more than sixty senators. The day upon which the Senate was to meet for the purpose of giving Cæsar the title of king, was the ides of March, and upon this day the conspirators determined to carry their plot into execution. A soothsayer had warned Cæsar to beware the ides of March; and his wife, disturbed by a frightful dream, besought him with tears not to go to the Senate-house.

Death of Cæsar.

To please her, he called his friend Mark Antony, and told him to dismiss the Senate; but Decimus Brutus, one of the conspirators, succeeded in overcoming his apprehensions, and he proceeded to the capitol. On his way thither, a note was placed in his hands, giving him an account of the conspiracy; but being crowded on every side, he put it by without reading it.

Scarcely had he entered the capitol, when all the conspirators came around him, as if to do him honor. According to an agreement among them, Attilius Cimber, one of their number, fell down at his feet to demand the pardon of his brother, who was banished. Cæsar refusing it, the conspirator laid hold of the bottom of his robe, and pulled it so hard as to make him bow his head. Casca then drew his dagger, and pierced the Dictator in the neck. "Accursed Casca, what doest thou?" he exclaimed, as he seized the assassin and dashed him to the ground. "Die, tyrant!" shouted all the conspirators, now rushing upon him from every side. With all the power which he possessed, he at once defended himself against his numerous foes, until perceiving among them his beloved Brutus, he exclaimed—"And thou, too, my son!" and then, cover-

ing his face with his mantle, fell, pierced with twenty-three wounds, at the foot of Pompey's statue.

The bloody work was no sooner ended, than the conspirators rushed into the Senate-chamber, and exhorted the senators to give their approval to an act that had restored liberty to their country. But the senators, confounded by the dreadful tragedy, fled to their houses, not knowing what they had to hope or fear. Then, still holding their bloody daggers in their hands, the conspirators flew into the streets and proclaimed that they had killed the king of Rome, and the tyrant of their country. They placed before them a herald, who, on the point of a javelin, carried a hat as a signal of liberty; and thus marching along, exhorted the people to lend their aid in restoring the commonwealth. But the people not appearing by their conduct to favor what had been done, they retired to the capitol, grieved that the death of a usurper was about to bring fresh calamities upon the commonwealth.

Antony, whom Cæsar had made consul, hid himself when he first heard of his protector's fate; but on learning the disposition of the people, he resolved to revenge his death; and causing Cæsar's papers and money to be car-

ried to his own house, he summoned the Senate, in order that they might determine whether Cæsar had been a usurper or a lawful magistrate, and whether those that killed him deserved to be rewarded or punished.

After a great deal of discussion, conducted with abundance of caution, it was finally agreed that no one should be prosecuted for Cæsar's death, and that all the ordinances which he had made should continue in full force. Antony was indignant at this decision of the Senate, but, dissembling his feelings, he determined that the conspirators should not go unpunished. He had Cæsar's will in his possession; and he knew full well, that when it should be read in the hearing of the people, they would rise in anger against his murderers. After a great deal of difficulty, he obtained the permission of the Senate to read it at Cæsar's funeral, at which a vast concourse of the citizens were present. Every one listened intently to the words of the great man, who had so endeared himself to them by his munificence when alive; and on finding that he had not forgotten to leave them something at his death, they were filled with gratitude and moved to tears. To every citizen he gave the sum of seventy-five Attic drachmas, and, more-

Antony's Funeral Oration—Terror of the Conspirators.

over, left his magnificent gardens to the people. Even to some of the principal conspirators he had bequeathed the most splendid presents, and had appointed them guardians to his nephew Octavius, whom he adopted as his son and heir.

But it was during the delivery of his funeral oration, that Antony aroused their feelings most. When he gave them a narrative of Cæsar's victories, and enumerated his many virtues, they made the Forum ring with their hearty plaudits. But when he pointed to his corpse, and told them how he died, they frowned, and groaned, and muttered their resentment. And then, when he held up Cæsar's bloody robe, and showed them the many rents made in it by the daggers of his foes, their rage overleaped all bounds. They screamed for vengeance, and some of them, flying to the houses of the conspirators, swore that they would, with fire and sword, sacrifice them to Cæsar's ghost. In danger of losing their lives, the conspirators left the city as quietly and speedily as possible.

By insensible degrees, Antony advanced towards the sovereign power; and the authority of the government seemed to be wholly in his hands, when young Octavius, Cæsar's grand-

Octavius returns to Rome—Antony's Jealousy.

nephew, arrived in Rome to take possession of his inheritance. This young man had been sent by his uncle to Apollonia, a city on the coast of Epirus, to complete his studies; and, at the time of Cæsar's death, he was scarcely eighteen years of age. The sad event afflicted him sorely, and he resolved to revenge it, and to maintain the honor of his adoption at the peril of his life. Arriving at Brundisium, the usual place of entrance and departure for travellers to and from Greece and Asia, he assumed the name of Cæsar, was introduced with much formality into the town, and made the master of it. Marching boldly to Rome, he was joined by large numbers of his adopted father's friends, freedmen, and even slaves. Money and every thing was poured in upon him; and, when he came near the city, the magistrates, officers of the army, and people thronged the gates to meet him. Every one came out to do him honor, except the ambitious Antony, who would not so much as send the least of his servants to compliment him in his name.

After young Octavius had caused his adoption to be confirmed in the most solemn manner, he went to Antony, begged his friendship, and demanded the inheritance left to him by

Cæsar, in order to pay the legacies mentioned in his will. Antony, at first, refused to acknowledge his claims, but afterwards changed his demeanor, when he found the influence of Octavius continually increasing, and his own proportionably diminishing. For this increasing influence, Octavius was in a great measure indebted to the large sacrifice which he made of his personal property, in order to pay his uncle's legacies to the people, who unanimously declared in his favor, and against Antony.

The murderers of Cæsar, supported by the Senate, and strengthened by large armies, were much in the way of the ambitious Antony; and he would have gladly united with the great man's nephew in destroying them, had he not feared that Octavius would grasp at the sovereign power. This power being the only mark at which he himself aimed, Octavius became to him no less odious than Brutus or Cassius. But the Senate hating them both, feared the haughty Antony more than the modest Octavius; and for the sake of crushing the former they were willing to flatter and honor the latter. A seat was given to him in the Senate; and he was induced to join his forces with the consuls Hirtius and Pansa against Antony, who had refused to comply with a de-

The Senate opposes Antony.

cree which required him to remove his army from Gallia Cisalpina, where he was fighting with Decimus Brutus.

By this movement of the Senate, Antony was nearly ruined; but he managed to escape from the legions of Pansa and Octavius, and passed the Alps, in order to join his old friend Lepidus, who was still in Gaul, and with the hope that he might also secure the aid of Plaucus and Asinius Pollio, former generals of Cæsar, who were all in command of numerous armies. Lepidus refused at first to join him, under pretence that he feared to offend the Senate; but Antony, marching straight up to his army, contrived by means of bribes and promises to rob him of his command; and afterwards secured also the other armies.

In the mean time the consul Pansa, being at the point of death, sent for Octavius, and, earnestly entreating him to agree with Antony, placed under his authority two legions, which had formerly been in his command. These legions the Senate ordered him to disband, under pretence that the Republic had no further occasion for them. But Octavius, in order that he might have the privilege of keeping them on foot, offered himself as a candidate for the consulship. Finding, however, that the Senate

Octavius consul—The Conspirators proscribed.

were determined to prevent his election, he marched his forces towards Rome, when the terrified senators not only chose him consul, but caused Quintus Pedius, one of his relatives, to be made his colleague.

Immediately upon taking possession of the consulate, he caused the impeachment of every one who had been engaged in the murder of Cæsar, and condemned all the conspirators to lose their lives for not presenting themselves for trial. But Brutus and Cassius, their chiefs, being at the head of twenty legions, he concluded that it would be impossible to destroy them as long as Antony continued to oppose him. Resolving, therefore, to become reconciled with him, he induced his colleague to propose to the Senate to recall Antony, on the ground that it would be to the advantage of the commonwealth. To this many of the senators were not at all inclined, but they were forced to yield; and the decrees against him being repealed, Octavius sent to him a proposition, that they should unite their forces, and march against Brutus and Cassius. Antony beginning to despair of making himself sole master of the sovereign power, determined to share it with Octavius; and, in accordance with an arrangement made by their mutual friends,

Octavius and Antony reconciled—The Triumviri.

they met, in company with Lepidus, alone, in a little desert island formed by the river Panaro, near Modena. They first embraced; and then all three sat down, with no one to overhear the agreement made between them concerning the disposition of the government of Rome.

This conference lasted three days, but the details of it are not known to any one. It is said, however, that they debated what form of government they should settle in the commonwealth, and in what way they should share the sovereign power. Cæsar agreed to abdicate the consulate for the rest of that year, and invest Ventidius, one of Antony's lieutenants, therewith; and Cæsar, Lepidus, and Antony, by the title of Triumviri, were to possess the sovereign power for five years. After this, they divided the provinces, the legions, and the treasures of the commonwealth between them, as if all these had been their patrimony. But as a great deal of money was necessary for them to carry out their plans, they resolved to make themselves easy on this score by the proscription of the wealthiest and most powerful citizens of Rome. A list of them was drawn up, among whom were Paulus, the brother of Lepidus, and Lucius Cæsar, the uncle of Antony, and Cicero, the tried friend of young Oc-

tavius. Three hundred senators, and more than two thousand knights, were involved in this horrible proscription.

Then began the war with the commonwealth, which now had no existence save in the camp of the conspirators. Cæsar and Antony went together with their legions into Macedonia, where Brutus and Cassius were endeavoring to keep alive the last spark of Roman liberty. The hostile armies met near the town of Philippi. For a while nothing but skirmishes took place, in which the conspirators were always most successful. But the day finally arrived whereon the fortune and destiny of the commonwealth were decided. It was a furious battle. The plains of Philippi were deluged with blood, and on them were buried the remains of liberty, with the bodies of Brutus, of Cassius, and of the chiefs of the conspirators, and the last of the genuine Romans. From this gory field sprang forth the Empire. Upon it, all the friends of the Republic lay, and Octavius felt that he could now reign alone. The ruin of his colleague, Lepidus, was easily accomplished; and then a quarrel, and finally a fight near Actium, left Octavius the master of the world.

For a long time this successful man, though

Honor paid to Octavius.

indifferent soldier, hesitated whether he should assume the title of king, or reign under some other name. Finally he resolved to retain the sovereign power, and to cause himself to be styled *AUGUSTUS Imperator*, a title sometimes given to victorious generals, and to which no odium was yet attached. In the mean time he still allowed in Rome the offices of consul, prætor, ædile, and other republican magistrates, but made them all subservient to his private ends and interests. During his reign, peace and plenty flourished anew, and the temple of Janus was closed for the third time since the foundation of Rome. He adorned the city in such a manner that it was truly said, that "he found it of brick, and left it of marble." The people erected altars to him, and, by a decree of the Senate, the month Sextiles was, in honor of him, called *August*. But all that further relates to him and to his successors, will be found in the volume entitled *THE EMPIRE OF ROME*.

PART II.

QUESTIONS.

I.—THE WAR WITH PORSENNA.

Page 15. Who, at the commencement of the Republic, were elected Consuls? Who was king? What caused the expulsion of Tarquinius from Rome? At what place was the army encamped? Who was leader in this revolution?

16. What good effects were the result of this change? To what place did Tarquinius withdraw? In what manner did he here employ himself? Relate the manner in which the sons of Brutus were sacrificed. What of Collatinus?

17. Who was appointed Consul in his stead? Why was the loss of Brutus so grievous? What effect had it upon the people? Why did they suspect Publius? What place had he chosen for his residence? Why was it offensive to the Romans?

18. What was the course pursued by Publius? Why did he lower the fasces? Give some account of his speech?

19. To what place did he propose to remove his dwelling?

20. What effect had this upon the populace? How were his promises fulfilled? What name was bestowed on him? Who was elected Consul in place of Brutus, and what followed? Who filled his place?

21. Give an account of an incident that showed the self-possession of Horatius.

22. In what state were the affairs at Rome during these changes? What actuated the Patricians to show kindness to the poorer classes? How was Tarquinius employed?

23. Who was Porsenna, and why did he engage with Tar-

quinius? What preparations did he make for war? How did they affect the Romans?

24. Describe the effect of this panic on Rome. What was done by the enemy?

25. What by the Senate? What by Valerius?

26. What was the conduct of Valerius at the bridge? Describe the heroic act of Horatius Cocles.

27. The attack of the troops. The fall of the bridge.

28. Effect of the intrepidity of Cocles on the spectators.

29. How was Porsenna affected? Describe the end of this adventure. How was Cocles rewarded?

30. Did this heroic action end the war? How did Porsenna proceed against the city of Rome? What is said of the suffering of the citizens?

31. What resolution was formed by three hundred young men? What did Mucius do? Where did he proceed?

32. Give an account of his conduct in the king's tent and speech to the king.

33. How did he behave at the burning pile? How did this conduct affect Porsenna?

34. In what manner did Mucius disclose the plot of the 300? Why did Porsenna resolve on peace?

35. On what terms was peace concluded? What was done by Clœlia? What the demand of Porsenna?

36. How did this affair end? How were Mucius and Clœlia rewarded? Why was Mucius called Scœvola?

37. In what other expedition did Porsenna engage? How did this cement the friendship between him and the Romans?

II.—THE WAR WITH THE LATINS.

Page 41. Who, at this time, were the Roman Consuls? What enemies annoyed Rome?

42. Did all the Sabines engage in these aggressions? What was done by Attus Clausus? How many accompanied him to Rome? How were they rewarded?

43. What was undertaken by Octavius Mamilius? How were the Romans affected by the news? What domestic troubles had they?

44. What oppressions had the Plebeians to endure? How many Latin cities prepared to march against Rome?

45. What seemed inevitable? Why did the Romans find it difficult to raise troops? What did the people require of the Senate? Were the Senate agreed?

46. What arguments were used by Marcus Valerius for abolishing the debts of the Plebeians?

47. Who rose in the opposition, and how?

48. What effect had the speech of Claudius? What rendered the situation of the Senate embarrassing? What did they determine upon?

49. What decree was made? How received by the people? What powers were to be intrusted to this ruler?

50. What name given to him? How was the power of this magistrate restricted? What abilities were required?

51. Who were the two Consuls, and what their character? What was proposed by the Senate? What noble contest originated in this proposal?

52. In what manner was it terminated? How did Lartius manage so as to make an impression of more than kingly power? With what effect?

53. In what manner did Lartius divide and enroll the citizens? To whom give command of the army? How prove himself a wise general and good man? What did he effect?

54. Why did Lartius resign his authority? Whom did he name Consuls? What decree was issued by the Senate respecting debts? What with regard to married women? How did the women act?

55. Why was a second Dictator chosen? Who was he? What did he do? What is said of the hostile armies?

56. What commanders appeared in the army of the Latins? What was the age of King Tarquinius? Describe the army of the Romans. What excited them to effort?

57. Describe the battle. What was the conduct of Tarquinius and his sons?

58. Describe the death of Valerius. How did Aulus act?

59. Describe the death of Mamilius. Also of Herminius. Fate of Sextus Tarquinius. Who gained the victory? What the number of the slain?

60. What prisoners and spoils were taken by the Romans? What wonderful incident is related of two horsemen in this battle?

61. What further account of their appearance in the Forum? What belief obtained among the people? How were Castor and Pollux honored? How was Aulus honored?

62. For what purpose were ambassadors sent from the Latins to Rome? How did these ambassadors act? Upon what condition was peace granted them? How long had Rome struggled with Tarquinius?

63. What was his end?

III.—THE PATRICIANS AND PLEBEIANS.

Page 67. What lesson had the Patricians learned? Had the Plebeians been benefited by the war?

68. What arguments did they urge for the payment of their debts? Were they listened to? What was the effect of this treatment? What two men were elected Consuls? What was the difference in their characters?

69. What were their opinions respecting the debtor and creditor? How were the two Consuls regarded by the people? What was the condition of the poor? What the consequence of their sufferings?

70. Describe the condition of the old centurion. In what manner had he been thus reduced?

71. How had his creditors treated him? What effect had this recital upon the people? Had others been so used? What representations did they make to the Consuls? What demand?

72. What did the people obtain from the Senate? What

strange incident arrested the tumult? What message was delivered by the horseman?

73. How was the intelligence received? What effect had it on the multitude? What did they say? Whom did the Senate entreat to appease the people?

74. In what manner did Servilius proceed? What promise? With what effect? Why did he delay the battle?

75. How did the Roman soldiers act in the midst of ill-treatment? What of the Volscians? Did the Plebeians obtain relief after their victory? Why not?

76. How did Servilius lose favor with both parties? In what manner did the people proceed to protect themselves? What enemies threatened at this time to attack the city?

77. How did the people treat the demand of the Senate and Consuls? Who were the next Consuls? Did the change produce confidence in the people? For what purpose did they hold nightly meetings? Where did they meet?

78. What decree was passed? With what effect? To what did the Senate again resort? What person was selected as Dictator?

79. By what promise did he render himself acceptable to the people? How did this succeed? What enemies came against the Romans? Who conquered?

80. At the return of the army, what demand did Valerius make of the Senate? Their answer. How did he address them? How proceed after his speech? How were the people pleased?

81. What orders did the Senate give the Consuls? With what design? Where were they encamped? In what manner did the Plebeians deceive the Patricians? Of what place did they take possession?

82. What course was pursued by the Patricians? Who was leader among the soldiers? How did he address the Patricians? What was done by the Consuls and Patricians?

IV.—THE TRIBUNES OF THE PEOPLE.

Page 87. What effect had the revolt of the Plebeians on the city of Rome? What was done by the Patricians? What was the name of the hill of refuge?

88. What was the situation of affairs at Rome? Upon what did the Patricians resolve? How were the commissioners met? Who were at the head of the revolters? Who conducted the embassy?

89. What was the policy used by the Plebeians? What the speech of Brutus? How did Valerius begin the negotiation?

90. What was the reply of Sicinius? The address of Junius Brutus to the people? to the ambassadors?

91. How did he appeal to their justice and humanity? What of T. Largius? Of Sicinius?

92. Who was Menenius? How did he try to soften the people? Give an account of his fable.

93. What was its effect? What did Menenius propose?

94. What pledge was demanded by Brutus? In what manner did the Senate decide? Who were the first Tribunes of the People?

95. To what form of government was Rome now approaching? In what way did the Tribunes nullify the decrees of the Senate? What design had these magistrates?

96. What were the *Ædiles*? Their office? Give an account of the famine that occurred. Who was Marcius Coriolanus? In what manner did he speak of the Plebeians?

97. What account is given of his mother? What had he done for Rome? Why disliked by the Plebeians? How did he return this feeling?

98. What was the effect of the speech of Coriolanus? How was he treated by the Plebeians? What orders were given the *Ædiles*?

99. Why could they not effect this? What ensued? What happened on the following day?

100. How did Brutus appease the people? What did Sicinius say? How did the Tribunes deal with Coriolanus?

101. What was the Valerian Law? Who endeavored to save Coriolanus? What was counselled by the Consul Valerius? What was his speech?

102. To what did the Senators urge Coriolanus? Give his address to them.

103. Of what did the Tribunes accuse him? How many days had he allowed him to make defence? In what manner did he do this?

104. What was done by the Tribune Decius? To what was Coriolanus condemned? Give an account of the conduct of Coriolanus on this occasion.

105. Why did the people rejoice? What was the only object of Coriolanus after leaving Rome? Why did he offer his services to the Volsci? Why was it dangerous for him to venture on this?

106. Into what city did he enter? Into whose house? Who was Tullus? Why did he take a seat upon the hearth? How did he address Tullus?

107. How did Tullus answer? What plan was laid between the two? How did the Volscian Senate act upon this plan? What was the reply of the Romans?

108. What followed? Who led the troops? What towns did he take from the Romans? What inflamed the Plebeians? How near to Rome did Coriolanus encamp his army? What effect had this on the people?

109. What still more alarmed the Romans? Who were sent to Coriolanus? What did he grant? What threaten?

110. Who were next sent? His reply. What was done by Valeria? To whom did she appeal? What request?

111. Why did the mother of Coriolanus hesitate? In what words did Veturia address the Roman ladies?

112. What was finally done by the mother and wife? How did Coriolanus receive them? His answer to their request.

113. Give the appeal of his mother. How was he affected?

114. How did Veturia continue her supplications? What

actions followed this pleading? Describe the effect on Coriolanus. What did he do the next day?

115. How did Coriolanus lose his life? How was he honored by the Volsci? How by the women of Rome?

V.—THE DECENVIRS.

Page 121. Who was Sp. Cassius Viscellimus? What his designs? How did he seek to accomplish them? What was the Agrarian law?

122. What caused his death? What law was obtained from the Senate? What was done by Genutius? How was the Agrarian law again silenced?

123. Describe the contest between the Plebeians and Patricians. How high did the power of the Tribunes rise? In what did the Patricians sometimes advocate the cause of the Plebeians? What two Consuls made an effort to furnish them with lands?

124. What did Emelius insist on? The consequence. What did Fabius propose? Why were the people unwilling to accede? How, at this time, was law administered at Rome?

125. What was proposed by Terentillus Arsa? How were the laws to be proposed? What violence was perpetrated by Q. Ceso? Who applauded him? How did the Tribunes act?

126. In what manner did Ceso escape punishment? What was done by his father to pay the fine? Who was his father? What war broke out after this? What of the Roman Consuls?

127. Why was a Dictator necessary? Who was named? How did the deputation find Cincinnatus employed? Relate what occurred. What of the Tribunes?

128. Why were commissioners sent to Athens? Why were the Decemvirs appointed? Who were they?

129. What powers were conferred upon them? How did Appius Claudius render himself agreeable to the people?

How was the government administered by the Decemvirs? How did they form the code of laws?

130. Into how many tables was the code arranged? What caused the election of Decemvirs for another year? What was the policy of Appius? To what did he aspire?

131. What was the conduct of the new officers? Of what did the citizens complain? Give an account of the tyranny of the Decemvirs.

132. How were those treated who complained? Did this authority cease at the close of the year? What did the tyrants proclaim? What armies were raised against Rome? Whose aid was sought by the Decemvirs?

133. What of Appius? Of the Roman armies? Who was Siccus Dentatus? What did he do?

134. How did Appius prevent open revolt? How revenge himself on Siccus? Give the story of his assassination.

135. Why did the soldiers suspect he had been murdered? What confirmed the suspicion?

136. In what place did Appius administer justice? Who was Virginia? What of her appearance and condition?

137. Whom did Appius employ to get her in his possession? How did Claudius proceed? What pretend?

138. What story did he fabricate of Virginia? Who discovered the plot? What did Numitorius claim?

139. What was decreed by Appius? How did the assembly receive this? Who was Icilius? What did he do?

140. What language did he use? What followed? On what condition was Virginia freed? Next step of Appius.

141. In the mean time, what had Virginius done? What did he do on the next day? What moved the multitude? How did Appius provide for his own safety?

142. How did Claudius offer to prove Virginia his slave? What witnesses were brought by her friends? What was done by Appius?

143. Give the address of Claudius to the assembly—also his decree. What was done and said by Virginius?

144. What was the proceeding of Appius? Request of Virginius? Describe the death of Virginia.

145. Describe the flight of Virginius. What was done by the people? What was the effect of all this on the soldiers?

146. What of the Decemvirs? Who were named Consuls? What effect had the death of Virginia on the Romans? What became of Appius? What of Claudius?

VI.—THE DESTRUCTION OF ROME BY THE GAULS.

Page 149. What effect on Rome had the expulsion of the Decemvirs? Why did not this state continue? What did the people aspire to and demand?

150. What enemies assailed Rome? What of the Veientes? Of the city of Veii?

151. To whom was the conduct of the siege committed? With what dignity? In what manner did he take the city?

152. How was Camillus honored at Rome? What proposition was made by Sicinius Dentatus? How received? What of the vow of Camillus, and his forgetfulness?

153. What accusation was made against him? How did Camillus conduct in these circumstances? Who were the Gauls?

154. What cities were founded by them? Of whom did the city of Clusium seek aid? Who was Brennus? What produced a quarrel between the Romans and the Gauls?

155. What was done by Brennus? Where did the hostile armies meet? Describe the battle.

156. How did the flight of the Roman army affect the city? How the Senate? What was their cowardly act? What was done by some of the old men and priests?

157. In what state did the Gauls find Rome on entering it? What is related of the aged men?

158. What caused their destruction? How did Brennus treat the city? Why could he not take the capitol? What did he resolve?

159. While waiting, how were the soldiers of Brennus employed? Where was Camillus? What did he undertake? How did he commence his work?

160. What did the penitent Romans entreat of him? On what conditions did he consent? Who undertook the task? How did Cominius reach the capitol?

161. How did the Senate receive the proposal? How did Camillus procure troops? What discovery was made by the troops of Brennus?

162. What plan did Brennus propose to surprise the fortress? What saved it from the Gauls who scaled the wall? Relate the heroic deed of Manlius?

163. How did they deal with the sleepy sentinel? How reward Manlius? What was the condition of the Gauls within the city? What that of the Romans within the capitol? What did they resolve upon?

164. What agreement make with Brennus? What unfairness was used by the Gauls? How did Brennus insult the Romans? Who arrived in the midst of the dispute about the gold?

165. What was said by Camillus? What was done by him? What was the result of his victory?

166. What was the condition of Rome after its delivery? What proposal was made about the city of Veii? Who advocated it?

167. Why did the Senate oppose? What was urged against it by Camillus? With what effect? How much time was taken to rebuild Rome?

168. Why was Camillus again called to the Dictatorship? What titles were given him? Who refused to honor Camillus—and why? How did he seek to gain the people?

169. Why did the Patricians again create a Dictator? Who was chosen? How did he deal with Manlius?

170. In what manner did the friends of Manlius show their sorrow? What did they obtain for him? What honor was again bestowed on Camillus? How did this affect Man-

lius? What charges were established against him? What was his condemnation?

VII.—FOREIGN CONQUESTS.

Page 173. How long had it taken the Romans to subdue the surrounding nations? What was their first foreign war? What of Carthage? its foundations? citizens? fleets?

174. Where and how had Carthage extended its conquests? How were Rome and Carthage separated? What disadvantage had the Romans? How did they obtain a fleet?

175. What of their first naval commander? What places were taken by their fleets? Where did they carry their arms? Who commanded the first fleet sent to Carthage? Describe the engagement?

176. Who were victors? What further success had the Romans? What of Manlius? Of Regulus? What the condition of Carthage? Of what were the Carthaginians desirous?

177. Upon what terms did Regulus agree to withdraw his army? How did the Carthaginians receive the proposal? Who was Xantippus?

178. What the result of this battle? What became of Regulus? What the conditions upon which he was sent to Rome? How was he received by the Roman Senate?

179. Did Regulus remain in Rome? Why not? His fate? Upon what terms did the Romans grant peace to the Carthaginians? Did this peace continue? Who was the cause of the second war?

180. What vow had he made? Describe his passage through Gaul—across the Alps. Who conducted the Roman army? Where did the armies meet? How was the battle decided? How was the life of the Roman General saved?

181. Who was now sent against Hannibal? With what success? What more was done to repel the invader? What hardships did Hannibal encounter? What did he lose?

182. What mistake was made by Flaminius? With what

result? Who next was sent to oppose Hannibal? How did Fabius trouble him? How was Fabius outwitted? Why was delay dangerous to the Carthaginians?

183. Give an account of the destruction of the Roman army. What mistake did Hannibal make after this battle? Who preserved Rome from total destruction? What information did Scipio receive after the battle of Cannæ?

184. What oath did he take, and enforce, of his countrymen? How did these Romans proceed to recover their losses? What was done by Fabius Maximus? What was Scipio doing in Africa? What kings did he gain?

185. Why was Hannibal recalled? Where did he and Scipio meet? With what success? What was done by the Carthaginians? Upon what terms did the Romans grant peace? Who was Masinissa?

186. What did he do to the Carthaginians? How many Punic or Carthaginian wars were there? Consequence of the last? What did Rome after this aspire to? What nations were conquered by them?

187. What change accompanied success in the Romans? What moral change? Who were Tiberius and Caius Gracchus? What story is related of their mother?

188. Give some account of Tiberius. At what siege did he assist? What was insinuated by his enemies? How was it said his mother encouraged his ambition? What office did he hold?

189. To what was his attention called? What was the Agrarian law? Had this law been enforced? What was done by Tiberius?

190. How did the nobles and the rich receive the proposition of Tiberius? Who was gained over by them? How did Octavius interpose to overthrow the measure? In what manner did Tiberius address the next assembly?

191. Who by vote was excluded from the tribuneship? Was the law revived? What effects resulted?

192. Describe the manner in which Tiberius lost his life.

Did the death of Tiberius affect the Agrarian law? What was the state of Rome. When was Caius Gracchus elected?

193. What were his public acts? How were Drusus and Opimius excited against Caius? Give an account of the second tumult and death of Caius.

VIII.—THE JUGURTHINE WAR.

Page 197. How did the loss of the Gracchi affect Rome? Who was Masinissa? Why did the Romans bestow upon him Numidia? Who was Micipsa? Names of his two sons? What of Jugurtha?

198. How did Jugurtha appear in early youth? How did his uncle regard him? How did his conduct change? How did this affect Micipsa?

199. How did the uncle manage to rid himself of Jugurtha? How did Jugurtha gain the army? What was intimated to him?

200. How received on his return? What intimated to Micipsa? How was this advice acted upon? What happened on the death of the king? How was Numidia divided? What was the aim of Jugurtha?

201. What did he do? How did Adherbal act? What war ensued? Who successful? What became of Adherbal? How were the Romans affected?

202. What artifice did Jugurtha employ? With what success at Rome? How did Jugurtha dupe the commissioners?

203. What next was done by Jugurtha? How did Adherbal proceed? Where fly? Next step of Jugurtha? What messengers were sent to Rome?

204. Did the men, or gold, prevail? What was effected by Jugurtha's gold? What did Adherbal write to the Senate? What was the opinion of the honest men at Rome?

205. Did their advice prevail? What was the fate of Adherbal? Effect at Rome of this outrage? Who was sent to punish Jugurtha?

206. What was the character of Calpurnius? What was done by Jugurtha? What required by the Senate? What done by the army under the command of Calpurnius?

207. What was the resource of Jugurtha? Give an account of the treachery of Calpurnius. Was this suspected by the Roman people?

208. Of what did the Tribunes complain? What demand of the Senate? Who was sent to bring Jugurtha to Rome? Did he consent to go? In what did he trust?

209. What was done by him on reaching Rome? With what did the people threaten Jugurtha? What new crime did he perpetrate? What did he say when banished from Rome? How did the Romans proceed against him?

210. Why did not Albinus succeed in Numidia? Who took charge of the army? In what manner was Aulus defeated? On what conditions were life and liberty granted to those who escaped? How did the Senate keep the treaty?

211. Who was intrusted with the war? What was done in Africa by Metellus? What terms did Metellus make with Jugurtha? What prevented Jugurtha from fulfilling his promises?

212. What did he do? Who was Caius Marius? How did he cause trouble in the Roman camp? To what office did he aspire? Why was this a bold thing for Marius? How did he proceed?

213. What offices did Marius obtain? In what manner did Marius triumph over the Patricians? What was done by him? How did this affect Metellus?

214. Who was sent to assist Marius in Africa? What king gave aid to Jugurtha? What did the two kings effect against Marius? How did he retrieve his loss? What of Bocchus?

215. For what purpose did he send ambassadors to Rome? How were they received and answered? What was the only condition upon which peace could be obtained from them?

216. Did Bocchus consent to deliver up Jugurtha? How did Marius enter the city of Rome? To what was Jugurtha condemned? Give an account of his end.

IX.—MARIUS AND SYLLA.

Page 221. After the defeat of Jugurtha what marred the rejoicings? What caused jealousy between Marius and Sylla? What the result? What invasion alarmed the city?

222. Where is Jutland? How many barbarians invaded Italy? Who had command of the Roman army? What battles were gained by him? How was Marius regarded? How Metellus?

223. How did Marius accomplish his downfall? What caused the indignation of the people? How did they proceed against these wicked men?

224. How was Metellus restored? In what manner did the Roman citizens show their love for Metellus? Why did Marius leave Rome? Origin of new difficulties in Rome?

225. What rights had Roman citizens? What was claimed by those who had submitted to Rome? Who was Livius Drusus? How did he offend the Senate?

226. What was the fate of Drusus? To what did this assassination arouse the foreign subjects? What gave rise to the *social war*? What league was entered into? Why were ambassadors sent to Rome? How were they received?

227. What was the number of the Confederate army? Who commanded the legions of the Senate? How was this contest carried on? What put a stop to it?

228. Who was the great rival of Marius? What dignities were conferred on Sylla? Who was the mightiest prince of the East?

229. How did he give offence to the Romans? How testify his contempt of their authority? What threaten? In what respect terrible as an enemy? Who by the Romans was appointed to undertake the war with Mithridates?

230. What feeling did this rouse in Marius? What re-

solve? Who joined him? How did they succeed? Who was killed in the commotion?

231. Where did Sylla take refuge? Why did not Marius put him to death? What did he compel him to do? What was the next step of Sylla? How did Marius obtain command of the army? Whom did he send to take possession?

232. Did Sylla submit? What was done to these messengers? How did Marius act? What was the determination of Sylla?

233. Who were sent to stop his march? How were these men treated by the soldiers of Sylla? What was next tried to arrest the march of Sylla?

234. How did Sylla answer the artifice of Marius? How deceive him? In what manner did Sylla treat Rome and the Consuls? How many legions had Sylla? How did he control the city?

235. What law did he establish? What decree repeal? Who were declared enemies of the state? Give particulars of the prosecution of the persons.

236. What of Sulpitius? What of the feeling towards Sylla? How was he reproached? With what effect? Who was Cinna?

237. What was done by Cinna? What by Sylla? Why did Cinna wish to recall Marius? How did he proceed to effect this?

238. What is said of the speech of Cinna? His demand? What caused disputes between the Confederates and Citizens? Who was Octavius? What was done by him?

239. How did Cinna seek to stir up the people? What sentence was passed on him? How did he appear at Capua?

240. What were his actions there. How received? What was the strength of his party.

241. What was reported? Give the story of Marius.

242. Where was Marius imprisoned? Relate what happened to him in prison.

243. Why was he set free? What occurred on his voyage? Where did he land?

244. Give an account of Marius at Carthage. Where was Marius joined by his son?

245. How did Marius appear at Rome? Who joined him?

246. Who was sent for to defend Rome? Why did not Metellus serve? What occurred between the Senate and Cinna?

247. What oath did the Senate demand of Cinna? What was done by Octavius?

248. How was he treated by Marius and Cinna? How did they treat the city of Rome? Where was Sylla?

249. How did Marius treat the family of Sylla? also the laws and person of Sylla? Who were elected Consuls? What news alarmed them? How was Marius affected?

250. To what did he abandon himself? How was the life of Marius terminated? At what age? How often was he Consul of Rome? What caused his ruin? How were the people affected by his death?

X.—CIVIL WARS AND CONSPIRACIES.

Page 253. What caused delay in the return of Sylla? Who was Valerius Flaccus? Who Fimbria? What occurred between them?

254. What policy did Mithridates use with Sylla? What terrified the ambassadors of the king? Describe the interview between Sylla and Mithridates.

255. How was Mithridates affected? What summons did Sylla send to Fimbria? How received? Why would not the soldiers fight? What the consequence?

256. What was the fate of Fimbria? Where did Sylla conduct his troops? What order was issued by the Consuls? Who were they? What the fate of Cinna? How was the army of Sylla increased? Who was Cn. Pompeius?

257. How old was Pompey the Great at that time? What number of men did he bring to Sylla? How did Sylla obtain the troops of Scipio? What was done by young Marius?

258. How were his troops routed? Where did he take refuge? What was done by Sylla to capture Marius? To what was the attention of Italy directed?

259. Did they afford relief to Marius? Whom did the army of Marius join? Who was Telesinus? To what place did he march? What was done by the inhabitants?

260. What was said by Telesinus to his army? Who commanded the people? How did they sustain the attack? Give an account of the battle between Telesinus and Sylla? Where was the battle fought?

261. How did the people prevent the entrance of the Samnites into the gates? What terrible disaster occurred? What suspended the conflict? Who overcame? How did Sylla's cruelty appear? What became of young Marius?

262. How did Sylla enter Rome? In what manner did he tarnish his glory? Mention some of his monstrous acts of cruelty.

263. What was said to him by Metellus? What was Sylla's reply? How did he reward his soldiers? How did he change the government of Rome?

264. How many of his citizens had Sylla destroyed? How many senators and knights? What was his most extraordinary act? What was his ruling passion?

265. What struck the multitude with awe? How did the Romans regard this act? In what manner did Sylla die? What did he leave for his epitaph? What was attempted by Lepidus?

266. Who were chiefs of the Patricians? Whom did Lepidus gain to his party? What became of him? and of Brutus?

267. What put an end to the Spanish war? Who was Spartacus? Who joined him? Who went against him?

268. Relate his fall. What caused the jealousy between Crassus and Pompey? How did Crassus seek to gain the people of Rome? How did Pompey make himself the idol of the people?

269. What appointment was given to him? In what condition was Rome at this time? What was going on? Who was Catiline?

270. What his character? Of what crimes was he accused? Who were ready to join Catiline in any plot?

271. What plot was formed? Who the leader? What noted men were in it? What of women? What was the object of all these?

272. Whose attention did this conspiracy engage? What was ascertained by Cicero? What did he learn of these proceedings?

273. What news threw Catiline into consternation? What did he and his party resolve upon? What was he to do? Who was to stab Cicero?

274. In what manner did the Senate show confidence in Cicero? How did he prepare for defence? What papers were brought to the Senate? What was done by Catiline?

275. How was Cicero affected? Speech of Cicero.

276. How was he answered by Catiline? How was Catiline forced to stop? What was his declaration?

277. Where did he go? Whom did the conspirators attempt to draw into the plot? With what promise? To whom did they divulge the plot? How did the ambassadors procure evidence against Catiline?

278. To what were the chief conspirators condemned?

279. Was Catiline among them? What was he compelled to do? Describe his death. How was Cicero honored?

280. What was he declared? What did the Emperor Augustus say of him?

XI.—JULIUS CÆSAR.

Page 285. How did Rome now lose its republican form of government? What two men divided public attention? How was Pompey illustrious?

286. What was the cause of the enmity between him and Julius Cæsar? Of which party was Pompey? Of which

Julius Cæsar? Why was Cæsar impeached? What was the effect of his eloquence? Who with Pompey divided the favor of the Senate?

287. How did Cæsar obtain the consulate? What was his policy as to the Agrarian law? What government did Cæsar obtain for Pompey? For Crassus? For himself? How did he use his power? How treat Cato? Bibulus? Lucullus? Cicero?

289. How did Cæsar set out for his government? What raised him to the highest rank among the captains? What nations had he conquered? How many cities? What of his battles? Of his ambition? His treasures?

290. Why did Cæsar love money? How did he spend it? How assign lands and the chief offices of state?

291. How was Pompey affected by the influence of Cæsar? In what condition was Rome through these disputes? What was done by Cato?

292. What was the demand of Cæsar? How was this opposed? How did Pompey act in secret? Why did Cæsar cross the Alps?

293. What letters sent to the Senate? What decree did they pass? Who opposed this? How did the Senate treat them? What had Pompey on his side? What had Cæsar?

294. Describe Cæsar at the River Rubicon. To what place did he march? How was this news received at Rome? What was done by Pompey and the Senate?

295. What by the city? What pursuit then commenced? What happened on the plains of Pharsalia? How long had Pompey been a conqueror? To what now reduced? Of whom seek protection? What treachery did Ptolemy contemplate?

296. Give an account of the death of Pompey. What did Cæsar become? What titles and honors were conferred on him? Why was not that of king given him? Why did his enemies wish him to assume it?

297. What proposal was made? What was agreed upon

in private cabals? Who was at the head of this conspiracy? Who associated with Brutus? What day was fixed upon? How had Cæsar been warned?

298. How far did these things affect him? How was he attacked? What was done by Casca? How did the sight of Brutus affect him?

299. What followed this bloody scene? What was done by the conspirators? Did the people approve? Upon what did Antony resolve?

300. How did he proceed? What did the Senate decide on? How were the people affected by the reading of Cæsar's will? What did he leave to the citizens and others?

301. Give an account of the funeral oration of Marc Antony and its effect? Who was the adopted son and heir of Cæsar?

302. How old was he at Cæsar's death? On what did he resolve? What name assume? How was he received in Rome? Whose friendship did Octavius beg?

303. Why did Antony at first refuse his claims? Why afterwards grant them? How did Octavius gain the people? How was Octavius regarded by Antony? Why did the Senate hate both?

304. How did Antony secure the interest of Lepidus? Why did Octavius wish the consulship?

305. How obtain it? What do? Why recall Antony?

306. Where did the three meet? How? What determine upon in their conference? What was the Triumviri? How did they divide the commonwealth? How obtain money?

307. How many were involved in this proscription? What war began? Give an account of what took place at Philippi. What sprang from this field? What left Octavius master of the world?

308. What title did he assume? What flourished in his reign? What temple was closed? How was Augustus honored by the people? What month named after him?



EMPIRE

OF

ROME



IN the two parts recently offered to the public, respectively entitled *THE KINGS OF ROME* and *THE REPUBLIC OF ROME*, the narrative of the establishment and growth of the Roman power is brought down to the death of Julius Cæsar. The present volume, which forms a sequel to those just named, begins with the circumstances that attended the elevation of Octavius, and relates the most interesting portions of the history of the empire to the death of Constantine, during whose reign Rome ceased to be the capital of the world. Few, perhaps, who have read the first two volumes, will fail to go to the sources from which the narrative has been drawn; and it is believed that those who read the present volume, will be induced, not only to investigate more closely the subjects herein presented, but to pursue the study of this interesting history to the dissolution of the empire.

The first of these, the "Theology of the Cross," is the
 central theme of the entire work. It is the doctrine that
 God reveals Himself in the suffering of Christ. It is the
 doctrine that the Christian must look for God in the
 suffering of the world. It is the doctrine that the Christian
 must look for God in the suffering of his own soul. It is the
 doctrine that the Christian must look for God in the suffering
 of his own body. It is the doctrine that the Christian must
 look for God in the suffering of his own mind. It is the
 doctrine that the Christian must look for God in the suffering
 of his own heart. It is the doctrine that the Christian must
 look for God in the suffering of his own soul, body, mind,
 and heart. It is the doctrine that the Christian must look
 for God in the suffering of his own soul, body, mind, and
 heart. It is the doctrine that the Christian must look for
 God in the suffering of his own soul, body, mind, and heart.

Arrangement.

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THE Battle of Actium—Death of Antony—Octavius and Cleopatra—Singular death of Cleopatra—Extent of the Empire—Appearance of Rome—Octavius becomes Emperor—Takes the name of Augustus—His Kindness and Magnanimity—His Wars—Birth of Christ—Death of Augustus—The Honors paid to him—Tiberius made Emperor—Revolt of the Army—Tiberius jealous of Germanicus—His treatment of Germanicus—Baseness of Piso and Placina—Death of Germanicus—Indignation of the People—Piso destroys himself—Ambition of Sejanus—His Schemes to obtain the Empire—His Detection and Punishment—Wretched Condition of Tiberius—His Death—His Treatment of the Christians.



DEATH OF MARK ANTONY.

I.

THE BEGINNING OF THE EMPIRE.

By the death of Cæsar, Rome, as may be learned by reference to the close of the preceding volume, was thrown into the utmost confusion. The people, easily persuaded that he had been unjustly murdered, compelled all the principal actors in the bloody scene to flee from the city. The government was then usurped by three men—Antony, a friend of Cæsar, Lepidus, one of his generals, and Octavius, his adopted son—who were called triumvirs, or a triumvirate. The chiefs of the conspiracy, Brutus and Cassius, with their adherents, were defeated in battle, as already stated, on the plains of Philippi, where they both committed suicide; and then the members of the triumvirate, each anxious to be first, began a dreadful quarrel among themselves. Lepidus, the weakest of the number, was soon deposed

Battle of Actium.

and banished. Mark Antony, the master of the greater part of Asia and Egypt, and in alliance with some of the most powerful kings, could not be so easily disposed of by the ambitious Octavius, who now wished to rule alone. His shameful conduct, however, in Egypt, where he became intoxicated with the charms of Cleopatra, its queen, having excited against him the displeasure of his countrymen, he was deprived of his government. But being flattered and encouraged by the beautiful Egyptian queen, he defied the power of Rome, and brought about a war between his country and Cleopatra, which resulted in his total ruin.

It was the naval battle fought near Actium, a city of Epirus, that decided the fate of Antony, and made Octavius master of the Roman world. The ships of Antony and Cleopatra were ranged near the mouth of the Gulf, in opposition to those of Octavius, while the land armies of the two generals were drawn up on either side, only as spectators of the engagement. The conflict was maintained with equal animosity by both parties, and the advantage gained by either was not at all perceptible, when, suddenly, the fortune of the day was decided by the flight of Cleopatra, attended by sixty of her vessels. Antony himself immedi-

ately followed her, leaving his fleet at the mercy of the enemy; and this, together with his land forces, soon after submitted to the victorious Octavius. The numerous misfortunes which afterwards befell him in rapid succession, produced such an effect upon his mind, that he called one of his slaves, named Eros, whom he engaged, by an oath, to kill him whenever fortune should drive him to this last resource. Eros being soon after commanded to fulfil his promise, pretended the utmost readiness to obey, and, requesting Antony to turn away his face, stabbed himself, and fell dead at his master's feet. Moved by such a display of heroic affection, Antony hung for a long while in silent agony over the body of his faithful servant; and then, taking up the sword, gave himself a mortal blow.

The wound, though frightful, did not prove fatal at once; and the unfortunate man ordered those who heard his groans to carry him into the presence of Cleopatra. The horror-stricken queen tore her clothes, beat her breast, and kissed the wound of which her lover was rapidly dying. Her transports of grief were beyond description; she was, indeed, with difficulty prevented from destroying her own life. In the mean time, Octavius, arriving in the city of

Cleopatra's singular Death.

Alexandria, laid plans for seizing the person of Cleopatra, in order to lead her as a captive in his triumphal entrance into Rome. But the queen learning his intentions, resolved to defeat them, by putting an end to her life. Going previously to the tomb of Antony, she crowned it with garlands of flowers, and kissed the coffin a thousand times. Then, returning to her palace, she ordered one of her domestics to bring to her secretly, in a basket of fruit, an asp, the bite of which, though deadly, was not accompanied with pain. Informing Octavius, by letter, of her fatal purpose, and requesting him to bury her in the same tomb with Antony, she arrayed herself in the most splendid manner, and then dismissing all but her two attendants, Charmion and Iris, laid down upon a gilded couch, and suffered herself to be stung by the poisonous reptile. As soon as Octavius received her letter, he sent messengers in all haste to prevent her terrible design, but they arrived too late. Cleopatra was already dead; and by her side was stretched the lifeless body of her faithful Iris. Charmion, herself just expiring, was arranging the diadem upon Cleopatra's head. "Alas!" cried one of the messengers, "was this well done, Charmion?" "Yes," replied Charmion, "it is well done."

such a death becomes a queen descended from a long line of glorious ancestors;" and the words were no sooner pronounced than she fell dead at the feet of her beloved mistress.

At this period, Rome was at its greatest height of wealth and splendor. Its dominion had been extended over all the nations of Europe, except some powerful northern tribes, that still maintained their independence. Within the limits of its empire were England, France, Spain, Germany, all the States of Italy, Greece, the country now occupied by Turkey in Europe, and many other nations. Its sway extended over Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, Arabia, Persia, Parthia, and all the northern part of Africa, from Mauritania, now Morocco, on the west, to Ethiopia on the east. Throughout all these countries the people of Rome had extended the arts of painting, sculpture, and architecture, so that a multitude of cities in various parts of Europe, Africa, and Asia, were filled with costly temples and palaces of marble, with beautiful statues and valuable paintings. But Rome itself was, of all the cities in the world the most wonderful. At this period it was fifty miles in circumference, and contained four millions of inhabitants. Within it were the choicest treasures of the countries which it had

conquered; the most beautiful statues from Greece; columns and obelisks from Egypt; gold, silver, and precious stones from every quarter of the earth. It was adorned with the most magnificent temples, theatres, public baths, aqueducts, and triumphal arches; and was, by far, the most splendid city in the world. In polite learning, too, the Romans had made a proficiency which has never since been excelled. Besides Virgil, Horace, and Ovid, poets whose names are familiar to every one, Livy, the historian, graced this period. In short, the glories of this age reflect a lustre on human nature itself.

From the moment that Octavius found himself the master of the world, the government of Rome took a permanent form. This man, who, when surrounded by rivals, had been so cruel, now became mild and kind. He labored earnestly to unite the interests of the different classes. Causing himself to be created Tribune of the People, and Prince of the Senate, he managed to govern both, and, at the same time, to make them believe that they were governing themselves. Taking great care to encourage men of learning, and to cultivate their friendship, he was repaid by hearing his praise circulated in every portion of his empire.

When thoroughly convinced that he had secured the attachment of all orders of the State, he resolved upon making a great display of his magnanimity, by pretending a wish to relinquish the sovereign power. All parties, of course, united in entreating him to retain the government, which he finally consented to do, though, apparently, with great reluctance. Such an exhibition of moderation, and so much devotion to the public interest, created a strong desire on the part of the Senate and the people to do whatever might afford him pleasure. Then it was that the title which he had assumed of AUGUSTUS IMPERATOR was legitimately bestowed upon him, and his person was declared sacred and inviolable. The Senate, by oath, approved of all his acts, and set him wholly above the power of the laws. They went so far as to swear obedience, not only to the laws which he had made, but even to those which he should make for the future. In fact his power was unlimited, while no one seemed to feel or know it.

The numerous titles and employments which were thus heaped upon Augustus, did not seem to render him less assiduous in the discharge of his duties. His whole life appeared now to be devoted to the welfare of his subjects; and

especially did he aim at the suppression of corruption in the Senate, and of licentiousness in the people. Through his instrumentality a great check was placed upon those cruel shows of gladiators, so common during this corrupt period. He did all in his power to promote marriages and domestic happiness, fining those who refused to enter into wedlock, and rewarding those who reared large and healthy families. He ordered that the senators should be held in great reverence, and added much to their outward dignity. He was very strict in regard to the morals of play-actors, forbidding the least licentiousness in their lives, and indecency in their actions. In order to prevent bribery at elections, he took, as a pledge, considerable sums of money from the candidates, which he obliged them to forfeit in case they were guilty of any unjust practices. In this way he did much to extirpate vice, and to improve the conduct of the Roman people.

The agreeable manners and kindness of Augustus, made him a great favorite among the people; their lawsuits, even, he condescended to plead in person, and such was his affability that he returned the salutations of the meanest persons. It is said that some one, on a certain occasion, presenting him a petition with much

timidity, Augustus looked at him in a reproachful manner, and exclaimed: "What, friend! you act as if you were offering something to an elephant, and not to a man; be bolder!" But the greatness of his mind was best exemplified in his magnanimous treatment of Cornelius Cinna, the grandson of Pompey. This nobleman had entered into a dangerous conspiracy against him; but the plot was discovered before it was ripe for execution. For a long time Augustus was uncertain how he should act. His clemency, however, at last prevailing, he sent for those who had been found guilty, and having reprimanded them, dismissed them without any further punishment. Then turning to Cinna, the chief of the conspirators, he thus addressed him: "I have twice given you your life—first as an enemy, then as a conspirator; I now give you the consulship; let us therefore be friends for the future, and let us only contend in showing whether my confidence or your fidelity shall be victorious." From this time, it is said, that all conspiracies against Augustus ceased.

Although he was himself totally destitute of military skill, the Roman arms, under his lieutenants, were still generally crowned with success. But the wars which were carried on in

distant provinces aimed rather at enforcing obedience than at extending dominion; and thus the Cantabrians, the Germans, the Rhetians, the Dacians, the Armenians, and other nations, were successively defeated in various contests, and compelled to acknowledge the supremacy of Rome. The war with the Dalmatians and Pannonians, one of the most obstinate that occurred during his reign, continued nearly three years; but that which proved most fatal to the Roman interests, was under the management of one of his generals, named Quintilius Varus. This general, invading the territories of the Germans, followed the enemy among their forests and marshes, with his army, in detachments, and was entirely cut off, with all his forces, composed of the choicest troops of the empire. Such was the effect of this misfortune upon the mind of Augustus, that he was often afterwards heard to cry out, in a tone of anguish: "Quintilius Varus, restore to me my legions!"

The reign of Augustus, which continued during a space of forty years, was peaceful and little interrupted by commotions, wars, and political intrigues, which are, indeed, the chief materials of history. About the middle of this reign, most of the nations of the world found

themselves, at once, yielding obedience to the same monarch, and in perfect harmony with each other. It may with propriety be regarded as a fitting time for the appearance upon earth of the Prince of Peace; and, indeed, it was about fourteen years before the death of Augustus that our Saviour Jesus Christ came into the world. He was born in Judea, one of the many provinces of Rome, in the seven hundred and fifty-second year of this remarkable city, and in the twenty-fifth year of the reign of the first of its emperors.

While so fortunate in the affairs of his government, Augustus, in his domestic relations, experienced a great deal of unhappiness. Although twice married, he had but one child, a daughter, named Julia. He felt, however, somewhat consoled for the want of children, by seeing her married and surrounded by a large and promising family; but, finally, her husband died, and then, one by one, her children also followed. Meanwhile, Augustus caused his daughter Julia to be married to Tiberius Claudius Nero, a son of his second wife, born during her first marriage. He also adopted Tiberius, compelling him in turn to adopt Germanicus, the only surviving child of his brother Drusus. Tiberius had always been very serviceable in

the management of public affairs; Augustus, therefore, on arriving at the seventy-fourth year of his age, constituted him his successor, and gave up to him, almost entirely, the administration of the State.

About this time, seeming to be apprehensive of his approaching end, he made his will, and then solemnized the census or numbering of the people, whom he found to amount to four millions one hundred and thirty-seven thousand. Soon after this, having accompanied Tiberius in his march into Illyria, as far as Beneventum, he was attacked violently by a diarrhœa. Returning thence to Nola, he became so ill that he sent for Tiberius, with the rest of his most intimate friends and acquaintance. Apprising them of his conviction that his end had come, he gave them his last instructions. It is said that, a few hours before his death, he ordered a looking-glass to be brought, and his hair to be dressed with more than usual care. Then addressing his friends, whom he beheld surrounding his bed, he desired to know whether he had acted well his part in life. Receiving an affirmative reply, he cried out with his last breath, "Then give me your applause."

When the death of Augustus became known, lamentation was heard throughout the empire.

His funeral ceremonies were performed with the utmost magnificence; and when the rites were over, his will was read in the Senate-House. In this will he made Tiberius and Livia his heirs, and gave large legacies to many private persons, and some memento to the prætorian guards, and to all the citizens of Rome. Temples were afterwards erected to his memory; divine honors were allowed to him; and it is said that one of the senators, in consideration of a large sum of money, swore that he had seen him ascending into heaven.

There can be little doubt that Augustus did all in his power to promote the happiness and welfare of his subjects. While he appeared to give them a republican form of government, he really ruled them as the most absolute monarch; but, guided by his consummate prudence, they were prosperous and contented. In this virtue few monarchs ever excelled him; and, could his early crimes be forgotten, he might be pronounced one of the most faultless princes that ever lived.

The reign of Tiberius began fourteen years after the birth of Christ; and the unworthy successor of Augustus was fifty-six years of age when he came to the empire. He soon found means to render himself unpopular, by claim-

Revolt of the Army under Germanicus.

ing as a debt that homage which his predecessor had been willing to receive as a favor. In the beginning of his reign, however, he was governed, apparently, by generous and noble feelings. The great names and titles which were liberally bestowed upon him by the Senate, he utterly rejected. He likewise prohibited the erection of statues in his honor, and the worship which was offered to him as to a deity. Besides all this, he assumed an appearance of great patience and moderation on all occasions, and even suffered others to speak ill of himself and of his government, saying that "in a free city the tongues of men ought also to be free." He manifested, too, a great hatred of vice, as well as a determination to cause justice to be duly and regularly administered throughout every part of his empire. In short, he contrived, for a season, to enjoy a degree of respect and admiration almost equal to that of the excellent monarch who had preceded him.

Germanicus, the nephew and adopted son of Tiberius, was at the head of the Roman armies in Germany when Augustus died. As soon as intelligence of this event was brought into that region, these armies revolted, and declared that the Roman Empire was in their gift, inasmuch as its principal grandeur was owing to the suc-

cess of their arms. They resolved that they would choose an emperor themselves; and Germanicus being greatly beloved by them all, they offered to raise him to this exalted dignity. It is probable, too, that this might have been easily done; but Germanicus was a man who could not, for any consideration, be tempted to do what was dishonorable or wrong. Their offers were consequently rejected with the utmost indignation, and their seditious behavior was promptly quelled.

When information of this was brought to Tiberius, he was, of course, gratified by the loyalty of Germanicus, but, at the same time, exceedingly distressed by his popularity; and, a short time after, his jealousy was so much inflamed by the success of Germanicus against the Germans, whom he beat in a number of battles, that he determined to find some plausible pretence for detaching him from the armies. It was not, however, until the Parthians threatened to attack Rome, that a favorable opportunity occurred for effecting the ruin of Germanicus. That fierce and unconquerable people breaking the peace that had been made with them during the reign of Augustus, invaded Armenia, a tributary kingdom of the empire. This was an occasion for recalling the legions

Tiberius separates Germanicus from the Army.

of Germanicus ; and Tiberius procuring him a triumph for his victories in Germany, wrote to him to return, in order to enjoy the honors that had been decreed to him by the Senate. He also complimented him upon his achievements, telling him that he had reaped glory enough in a country where he had ever been victorious. In reply, Germanicus earnestly entreated the continuance of his command for one year longer, in order that he might finish the enterprises that he had begun. But the cunning Tiberius, intent upon the accomplishment of his base design, offered Germanicus the consulship, and requested him to execute the office in person.

Germanicus, although he probably understood the motive of the emperor, delayed no longer to obey his wishes, and accordingly set out for Rome. Great multitudes of people went out to meet him, and as he entered the city, accompanied, in a chariot, by his wife and children, the people were thrown into a frenzy of joy and admiration ; and Tiberius himself, though extremely jealous, feigning to join in the general rejoicing, gave, in the name of Germanicus, three hundred sesterces to each of the citizens.

The real aim of Tiberius, in raising Germani-

He instigates Piso to destroy Germanicus.

cus to the consulship, was, first to separate him from his army, and then, as soon as possible, to get him far away from Rome, where his popularity was now so hateful to him. It was easy enough for him to do this, even in a way that could not be wholly disagreeable to Germanicus. The Roman Empire was vast, and its interest oftentimes demanded the presence of wise and prudent men, at great distances from the capital. At this particular time there was difficulty, not only with the Parthians, but with the people of Comagena and Cilicia; and the inhabitants of Syria and Judea, overburdened with taxes, were making earnest supplications for redress. To be intrusted with the management of these important matters was no small honor, and Germanicus could not therefore refuse the offer of the government of the provinces of Asia. It was decreed to him then, with even greater powers than had been granted to any previous governor. But the malicious Tiberius, intent upon the destruction of his victim, had sent, as governor, into Syria, one Cneius Piso, a man well chosen for his wicked purposes; and to this person he had given secret instructions to oppose Germanicus upon every occasion, and even to procure his death, if he could accomplish it without suspicion.

Accepting his appointment, Germanicus set out, with his wife and children, for his Eastern expedition, and, arriving within the territories intrusted to his care, undertook to settle the difficulties existing between them and the government of Rome. In the mean time the wicked Piso watched him closely, and endeavored to throw various impediments in the way of his success. But Germanicus, notwithstanding every obstacle, soon succeeded in bringing Cilicia and Comagena into obedience to Rome; also in obliging the king of Parthia to sue for peace. Still Piso did not cease to do all in his power to injure the favorite general of the Roman people. He openly censured all his proceedings, and sought every opportunity to cast reproach upon him. His base conduct did not, however, meet with retaliation on the part of Germanicus. This most noble person opposed him only with patience and condescension; and when, at last, he found it impossible otherwise to avoid his machinations, as well as those of Placina, the wife of Piso, he made a voyage into Egypt, under a pretence of viewing the celebrated antiquities of that country. Here he remained as long as the duties of his office would permit; and then returning, fell suddenly and dangerously sick. It now oc-

curred to him that his sickness was due to the treachery of Piso, and, hoping that he might yet recover, he sent word to this infamous man that all connection must at once cease between them. A short interval of convalescence gave so much encouragement to his friends that they and the citizens of Antioch prepared to offer sacrifices for his recovery; but even these solemnities were not tolerated by the abominable Piso, who sent his lictors to drive the victims from the very foot of the altars.

The hopes of Germanicus and of his friends were not destined to be realized. Piso and his wicked wife Placina, had been but too successful in their attempts upon his life; and the day finally arrived when he was forced to meet his approaching end. His weeping friends gathered around his bedside, and to them he declared that he had fallen a victim to the devices of Piso and Placina. "Let the emperor know, I conjure you," said he, "the manner of my death, and the tortures I endure. Those who loved me when living, those even who envied my fortune, will feel some regret when they hear that a soldier, who had so often escaped the rage of the enemy, has fallen a sacrifice to the rage of a woman. Plead, then, my cause before the people; you will be heard with

pity: and if my murderers should pretend to have acted by command, they will either receive no credit or no pardon." With these words he stretched forth his hands to his weeping friends, who all vowed that they would sooner lose their lives than their revenge.

When news of the death of Germanicus was brought to Rome, the whole city was thrown into the utmost distress. A stop was put to every kind of business, public and private; the streets resounded with lamentations, and the people, as if incensed against their gods on account of this calamity, cast stones at their sacred temples, and threw down their very altars. In a little time it was reported that Germanicus had been poisoned through the artifices of Piso and his wife Placina. Immediately the greatest indignation prevailed against these persons, as well as against the emperor himself, at whose instigation it was thought that the crime had been committed. And when Agrippina, the widow of Germanicus, on her return home, approached the city, the whole body of the people went out to meet her, with a strange mixture of sorrow and acclamation. The ceremony of entombing the ashes of Germanicus was regarded in profound silence; but it was no sooner done, than the

Piso destroys his own life.

whole multitude broke out in loud lamentations, crying that the commonwealth was now no longer.

Tiberius used all his art to conceal the chagrin which he experienced at this excessive sorrow of the people, and even made a show of sharing in the general calamity. He also permitted the accusation of Piso, who, finding that nothing could save him from the indignation of the people, dispatched himself with his own hand. Placina his wife, suffered subsequently the punishment due to her crime.

About a year after this event, Tiberius took his own son Drusus as a colleague with him in the consulship, and, in order to accustom him to business, left to him, almost entirely, the government of the city. Having reached the ninth year of his reign, this wicked monarch, who now had no object of jealousy to restrain him, began to exhibit his real character more openly. Assuming to himself the interpretation and enforcement of the laws, he soon cast a general gloom over the city, by his acts of cruelty and tyranny. One of the first of his victims was Cremutus Cordus, a brave man, who defeated his malice, by putting an end to his own life. But Tiberius found his match for dissimulation in a Roman knight named Seja-

nus, who contrived to gain his confidence, and finally to bring upon him a great amount of suffering.

This subtle, bold, and ambitious man obtained, by degrees, almost entire control over Tiberius; and the servile senators, fearful of his power, and willing to preserve the favor of the emperor, did every thing to please him. His statues were set up by the side of those of Tiberius, and the greatest eagerness was manifested to pay him equal honors.

Every day he grew more and more in the favor of the emperor, and, at last, thinking himself strong enough, he ventured to aspire to the throne. But this, of course, he could not attain so long as Tiberius or his heirs were living; and judging correctly that the heirs of the emperor could be disposed of more easily before, than after, the destruction of the emperor himself, he took his measures accordingly, and soon brought about the death of Drusus, the emperor's son. This was a terrible blow to Tiberius, yet he bore it with great composure, and did not for a moment suspect the cause of it. But there were others besides Drusus in the way of Sejanus. The children of Germanicus must also be disposed of, in order that he might attain his wishes; and his next attempt was to

Sejanus persuades Tiberius to remove from Rome.

bring about their ruin. But finding them closely guarded by their mother Agrippina, he could not immediately accomplish his design, and therefore undertook to persuade Tiberius to retire to some agreeable retreat, remote from Rome. In this way he expected to derive many advantages, since there could be no access to the emperor except through him. He was not unsuccessful in his attempt. Tiberius was easily convinced that life would be far more agreeable to himself if he could be free from the cares and vexations of business; and, accordingly, in the twelfth year of his reign, at the instance of Sejanus, he left Rome and never more returned. The spot which he selected for his retirement was the little island of Caprea, opposite to Naples, and about three miles distant from the main land. Here, utterly regardless of the welfare of his empire, he abandoned himself to the most shameful pleasures. Nothing seemed to move him—not even the insurrection of the Jews, which followed the erection of his statue in Jerusalem, nor the falling of the amphitheatre at Fidenæ, by which fifty thousand persons were either killed or wounded.

While Tiberius was thus passing his life in excesses of every kind, his favorite, Sejanus

He accomplishes the death of the children of Germanicus.

was intent upon the accomplishment of the plan which he had devised for getting possession of the throne. The cruel and jealous disposition of the emperor was made subservient to his purpose; and every day he strengthened his power, through the terror which he was able to inspire. Secret spies and informers were placed by him in every part of the city, and in this way he managed to get rid of those who were either so bold or so imprudent as to manifest any displeasure at his acts. Having constantly in view the destruction of the children of Germanicus, he sought every opportunity to render them obnoxious to Tiberius; and finally, by means of false reports circulated by his command, he succeeded in causing them to be declared enemies of the State. The two princes were accordingly arrested, thrown into prison, and starved to death, while their mother Agrippina was sent into banishment.

Had his cruelty ceased here, he might have succeeded in his infamous design. But with such a high hand did he wield a power which was not strictly his own, that he at last encountered some one who had sufficient boldness to call him to account. This was Satrius Secundus, a man of great resolution, who accused him to the emperor. The charge was seconded

by Antonia, the mother of Germanicus; and Tiberius, being well convinced of the treachery of his favorite, took immediate steps to bring him to punishment. But so strong was the habit of dissimulation with Tiberius, that he could not proceed, even in such a matter, without indulging it. Granting, accordingly, new and great honors to Sejanus, he caused him a moment afterwards to be confounded, by ordering the Senate to cast him into prison. And the Senate, eager to comply with the royal mandate, not only placed the unhappy wretch in prison, but directed that he should be forthwith executed.

The sudden downfall of a man who had been at such a height of power, could not be witnessed without emotion. The whole city was immediately in agitation, and unmistakable evidence was given on every hand that Sejanus, notwithstanding the adulation so freely offered him, was held in the greatest odium. As he was led to execution, the people loaded him with insult and execration; and when he attempted to hide his face with his hands, they prevented him, and even tied his hands behind his back. His statues were thrown down from their pedestals, and he himself was shortly after strangled by the common executioner. Nor

Punishment of Sejanus.

was his death sufficient to appease the enraged populace; his body was ignominiously dragged about the streets, and his whole family exterminated with him.

But in escaping the cruelty of Sejanus, the people of Rome found themselves none the less miserable under the tyranny of Tiberius. This blood-thirsty monster caused the prisons to be filled at once by those whom he pretended were the accomplices of Sejanus, and numbers of the most illustrious, of all ages and of both sexes, became the victims of his diabolical passions. The whole city was filled with slaughter and mourning. Dead bodies lay putrefying in heaps around the place of execution, and the friends of the wretched victims were not permitted the sad satisfaction of weeping over those whom they loved. "Let them hate me!" exclaimed the brutal tyrant, "so long as they obey me!"

During all this time Tiberius was still in his retreat at Caprea, indulging in his pleasures, and issuing his cruel orders to his minions in the capital. Frequently he commanded the victims of his cruelties to be brought to his abode, and tortured before his eyes. But he was not free from suffering himself. His own suspicions were a continual torment to him;

and, in one of his letters to the Senate, he confessed that the gods and goddesses had so afflicted and confounded him, that he knew not how or what to write. His bodily afflictions, too, were terrible. With a face broken out with ulcers and covered over with plasters, a body lean and bent, and a bald and grizzly pate, he presented a very loathsome spectacle. Every one, moreover, hated and despised him. The Senate plotted against him, the people reviled him, and his greatest favorites dreaded him, because in constant uncertainty of their fate.

Now sixty-seven years of age, and as much a torment to himself as he was a subject of odium to the world, he finally began to think of his dissolution, and the appointment of a successor. After much hesitation he selected Caligula, one of the sons of Germanicus, and a young man, whose vices, doubtless, more than any thing else, recommended him to the favor of this infamous monarch. But, a dissembler to the last, he pretended to be still strong and well, when he knew that his end was rapidly approaching; and even when he could scarcely maintain a sitting posture, continued to receive his guests, and to protest that he was in perfect health. It was while making an effort to read the acts

Death of Tiberius.

of the Senate, that he, at last, fell senseless to the floor.

The friends of Caligula, thinking the emperor dead, advised him to prepare to secure the succession. The congratulations of the court were tendered to him, and he caused himself to be acknowledged by the Prætorian soldiers, and went forth from the emperor's apartments amidst the acclamations of the multitude. But during all this, Tiberius suddenly recovered, and asked for something to eat. The whole court was filled with terror by this unexpected change. All resumed their pretended sorrow, and left the new emperor in order to manifest their solicitude for the old. Caligula, thunder-struck, now expected death instead of an empire, and, not knowing what to do, stood gazing upon the scene in gloomy silence. His companions, however, hoping to gain more from him than from the dying emperor, soon came to his relief. Gathering around the couch of Tiberius, they strangled the wretched man to death.

It was during the eighteenth year of this wicked monarch's life that Jesus Christ suffered crucifixion. Not long after his passion, Tiberius received a letter from Pilate, the governor of Judea, containing an account of the

death, resurrection, and miracles of the Saviour. This letter he communicated to the Senate, desiring them to enrol Christ among the number of the Roman gods. But, because the proposition had not originated among themselves, the Senate refused to do this, alleging an ancient law which gave them the supervision of all religious matters. To show their opposition still farther, they even commanded that all Christians should leave the city. But Tiberius thwarted this unjustifiable measure, by threatening with death any one who should attempt to enforce it; and for this act Christianity might have ranked him among its defenders, had not his whole life been such a disgrace to humanity.

CALIGULA AND CLAUDIUS.

. FROM 37 TO 55 A. D.

CALIGULA's reception at Rome—He begins to reign well—His first acts of Cruelty—The absurd worship paid to him—The honors which he bestowed upon his horse—The famous Bridge of Puteoli—Caligula's mode of obtaining money—His expedition against the Germans and Britons—His ridiculous conduct in Germany—The conspiracy of Cherea—Assassination of Caligula—Claudius made Emperor by the Army—His public works—War with the Britons—Caractacus captured and taken to Rome—Claudius becomes indifferent to the Empire—Conspiracies—Revolt of Camillus—Story of Cecina Petus—Cruelties of Claudius—Death of his wife—His marriage to Agrippina—Her schemes for securing the empire for her son Nero—Claudius poisoned.

II.

CALIGULA AND CLAUDIUS.

AT this time the Romans had arrived at the highest pitch of effeminacy and vice. From all portions of the empire wealth had poured into the city, and with it the luxuries peculiar to every country in the world. Gluttony was reduced to a perfect system, and debaucheries of every kind were practised openly. Instead of attending to the welfare of the empire, the senators themselves became devoted to the most debasing pleasures; and the people, if possible, more corrupt, seemed to abandon every kind of labor, and to depend for subsistence upon any thing, save what was honest and manly. Indolence became an alarming vice. Courage no longer characterized the Roman soldiery, and their passion for glory was nearly extinguished. Under such circumstances it is not wonderful that the history of Rome should henceforth ex-

Caligula Emperor—His reception at Rome.

hibit continual instances of tyranny on the part of the rulers, and of insubordination among the people.

The reign of Caius Caligula, the successor of Tiberius, although very short, was more replete with atrocities and abominations than that of any ruler that had yet preceded him in Rome. His ascent to the throne was, however, an occasion of great rejoicing; and, as he approached the city from Caprea, with the dead body of the late emperor, thither taken for interment, he was received with new titles of honor by the Senate, and declared sole successor to the empire, although Gemellus, the grandson of Tiberius, had been left co-heir. The people flocked about him on every side, pleased at being delivered from the cruelties of Tiberius, and hoping new advantages from the virtues of Caligula. Nor were these manifestations of joy confined to Rome, or even to Italy. They extended over the entire empire; and the whole world, in short, seemed combined to honor him for qualities which he did not in anywise possess.

For several months, it is true, Caligula managed to conduct himself in a very praiseworthy manner. The abuses that had crept into the State, became to him an object of attention,

Caligula begins to reign well.

and he undertook their correction, with much apparent zeal. The institutions of Augustus, which had been disused during the reign of Tiberius, were revived. The condition of the Roman provinces was investigated, and several of their governors removed on account of the corrupt conduct of which they were found guilty. Pontius Pilate was one of a number whom he banished into Gaul; and here this unjust ruler afterwards committed suicide. A great many knights were driven from Rome, because of their infamous crimes; and a multitude of abominable practices were abolished by his orders. The ancient manner of electing magistrates by the suffrages of the people was restored; and some kings, who had been unjustly deprived of their dominions, were placed again in possession of them. For these and many similar acts, he did not fail to receive the highest praise. A shield of gold, bearing his image, was ordered to be carried annually to the capitol, attended by the Senate, and the sons of the nobility; and the day on which he mounted the throne was inserted among the festivals.

But this reign of virtue and good sense was of very short duration. Eight months had scarcely elapsed before all his moderation and

His first acts of cruelty.

clemency gave way to the most furious passions, unexampled avarice, and capricious cruelty. It is pretended by some that his mind became deranged by a disorder which happened to him a short time after his accession to the throne. This may really have been the case; and it is very difficult to account, otherwise, for the extravagant cruelties and ridiculous inconsistencies that are imputed to him.

The first instance of cruelty related of him, was in the case of a person named Politus, who, during the sickness of the emperor, vowed that he would sacrifice his own life to the gods if they would restore him to health. Caligula, on his recovery, having been informed of this devotedness of Politus, actually compelled him to fulfil his vow. Not long after this, he obliged Gemellus, co-heir with him to the empire, to kill himself. Then he put to death Silenus, his own father-in-law, and Grecinus, a noted senator, who refused to witness falsely against Silenus. After this, a multitude fell victims to his avarice or suspicion, and among them Macro, the very person to whom he was most indebted for the empire.

But his vanity and extravagance soon gave rise to atrocities far surpassing any already mentioned. Not content with assuming the

highest human titles, he insisted upon being styled a god, and actually caused the heads of the statues of Jupiter and of other deities to be struck off, and his own put in their places. Frequently he would place himself between the images of Castor and Pollux, and order all who came into their temple to pay their homage to him, instead of these divinities. He even caused a magnificent temple to be built and dedicated to himself, and in it placed his statue of gold, which was dressed every day in clothes similar to those worn by himself, and adored by crowds of worshippers. The priests of this temple were very numerous, and the office was eagerly sought on account of the exquisite sacrifices that were here offered up. Caligula's horse, and his wife, were both among the number of these priests; and, ridiculous as it may seem, he became one of them himself, and worshipped his own image. In order to maintain his pretensions to divinity, he employed many inventions to imitate thunder, and would frequently defy Jupiter, crying out to him, "Conquer me, or I will conquer you!"

The envy and detestable lusts of this infamous man seem almost incredible, and were equalled only by his excessive prodigality. The luxuries of former monarchs were nothing

The Honors bestowed by Caligula upon his horse.

compared with his. There was not any thing that human ingenuity could contrive for the gratification of any of the senses, that he did not procure. Even costly and tasteless pearls were dissolved in the sauces which were placed upon his table, and his baths were prepared of the richest oils and most precious perfumes. For his favorite horse Incitatus, he built a stable of marble, with a manger of ivory. He erected for the animal a house filled with costly furniture and provided with a kitchen, in order that all his visitors might be treated with proper respect. It is even said that he sometimes invited Incitatus to dine at his own table, and that he would have appointed him to the consulship had he not been prevented by death. Such even was the folly of this man, that houses were erected at his command in the midst of the sea. Mountains were levelled, and plains and valleys elevated, only to gratify his whims.

But the most absurd piece of extravagance of which any human being was ever guilty, was the famous bridge of Puteoli, which was built during the third year of his reign. For the purpose, simply, of calling himself master of the ocean as well as of the land, he caused an infinite number of ships to be fastened to each other, so as to make a floating bridge

from Baia to Puteoli, across an arm of the sea three miles and a half in breadth. These ships were placed in two rows, and secured by means of anchors, chains, and cables. Over them, immense quantities of timber were then laid, and upon the timbers, earth was placed, so that the whole resembled one of the streets of Rome. Several houses, for the reception of himself and his attendants, were then built upon it; and when the whole was completed, he arrayed himself in the most magnificent costume, and, accompanied by the great officers of his army and all the nobility, with a prodigious multitude of citizens, he entered at one end of the bridge, and with ridiculous importance rode to the other. At night the immense number of torches and other illuminations with which this expensive structure was adorned, lighted up the whole bay and the surrounding region. The first storm, of course, demolished this useless fabric, and in a short time not a vestige remained to mark his folly.

In a little more than one year, the immense fortune left by Tiberius to Caligula, was all expended in extravagance, and then to supply his wants, he resorted to every species of rapine and extortion. All his abilities were directed to the replenishment of his coffers

Caligula's methods of obtaining Money.

Every thing in Rome was taxed; freedmen were obliged to purchase their freedom a second time; and many who had named him as their heir, were poisoned, that he might obtain immediate possession of their fortunes. He even caused a gambling-table to be kept in his own dwelling. On a certain occasion, having been very unlucky, he ordered two rich knights to be apprehended, and, confiscating their estates, boasted that he never made a better throw in all his life. At one time he complained openly of his poverty, and actually stood in the door of his palace to receive the donations of his subjects. Certain persons of the highest quality, venturing at one time to blame his extravagance, he condemned them to dig in the mines, and to repair the highways.

It is too sickening to read the follies and cruelties of a monster, who could wish "that the people of Rome had but one neck, that he might dispatch them all at a single blow." The people, as a matter of course, grew weary of his intolerable conduct, and conspiracies were everywhere formed against him. The conspiracies were, however, arrested by an expedition which he projected against the Germans and the Britons. For this purpose he made the most extensive preparations. Im-

mense numbers of troops were levied, and war-like engines of every description constructed for the great campaign. Every one believed, from the interest which he manifested in the matter, and the energy which he displayed, that he would, at last, do something for the glory of his own name and that of the Roman people.

In due season the great army set out from Rome, with Caligula at their head. But such was his impatience to reach the countries which he proposed to overrun, that his cohorts were unable to carry along their standards. In a few days, however, his eagerness subsided, and the march continued then more like a funeral procession. When, finally, he arrived in Britain, he merely gave refuge to one of its banished princes, and then, in a letter to the Senate, described the action, as an achievement by which he had taken possession of the whole island. After this, turning his attention towards Germany, he there, soon after, landed his victorious troops. Arranging his engines and war-like machines with great solemnity upon the sea-shore, and drawing up his troops in battle array, he went on board of his galley. Coasting up and down, as if for the purpose of seeing that every thing was right, he finally ordered

His absurd conduct in Germany.

the trumpets to be sounded, and the signal for engagement to be given. Immediately, the troops, who had been previously instructed, all stooped down upon the shore, and began to fill their helmets with the shells that lay scattered here and there. This being done, he went on shore again, and, assembling the army, applauded them, in a pompous harangue, for their great achievement, and caused it to be commemorated by the erection of a lofty tower.

Incredible as it may seem, the Senate, upon his return to Rome, after this piece of folly, actually received him with the greatest honors, and spent a whole day in praising his performances. But the reign of Caligula was drawing to a close. Many conspiracies were already on foot; but that which was destined to rid the world of this detestable tyrant, was concerted by Cassius Cherea, a tribune of the Prætorian bands, and a man of experienced courage, whom Caligula had taken every opportunity to ridicule, simply because he had an effeminate voice. Many of the most illustrious men of Rome, actuated by revenge for personal injuries and indignities, were associated with him; and the downfall of Caligula was hastened by the appointment of Cherea to preside over the

torture of a courageous and innocent female, for whom he entertained a great respect.

It was finally agreed among the conspirators, that Caligula should be attacked during the Palatine games, which continued four days. But, three days having elapsed without any opportunity to carry out their designs, Cherea began to fear that the conspiracy might be divulged, and therefore determined that it should be accomplished on the following day, at the moment that Caligula was to pass through a private gallery to some baths, not far distant from the palace. The conspirators, thereupon, stationed themselves in a suitable place, and waited with great patience for a favorable moment. This finally occurred. The emperor, leaving the company in which he was enjoying himself, passed towards the bath, and on reaching the spot occupied by the conspirators, Cherea sprang upon him, and crying out, "Tyrant, think upon this!" struck him to the ground. The others immediately rushed upon the wretched man, and dispatched him, with thirty wounds.

Thus, in the twenty-ninth year of his age, and after a reign of less than four years, died Caius Caligula, one of the greatest monsters that ever ruled in Rome. So bitter was the

Claudius made Emperor by the army.

hatred of the people against him, that his wife and infant child were also put to death: the former was stabbed by a centurion, and the latter was dashed violently against a stone wall. Even the money, which bore his name and likeness, was melted down, by a decree of the Senate, in order, if possible, to obliterate his memory; and the Senate, having so long suffered by the cruelty of tyrants, began to consult together concerning the restoration of their former liberty, and even talked boldly of extinguishing the name of Cæsar. But the very first step which they took towards the accomplishment of this design, created alarm among the soldiers and the populace; and such a strong combination was immediately formed against them, that many lives were even sacrificed before any active measures had been adopted on either side.

While every thing was yet in disorder, and neither the Senate nor the people knew precisely what course to take, some soldiers, who were running about the town, discovered, accidentally, an uncle of Caligula, named Claudius, who had secreted himself in a quiet place, fearing lest his relationship to the late emperor might make him an object of revenge. Trembling from head to foot, he was dragged from

his retirement, with no other expectation than a sudden and awful death. But the senseless soldiers, taking him upon their shoulders, carried him to the camp, and proclaimed him emperor. Nor would they listen to the remonstrances of the Senate, who, in order to prevent bloodshed, were obliged to pass a decree confirming the election of the military, also to go and pay their homage to Claudius.

This man, who thus unexpectedly arrived at the height of power, was fifty years of age when he began to reign. It is said that the faculties, both of his body and mind, had been, in infancy, so affected by disease, that he was wholly unfit for the position to which he was elevated. Whatever truth there may be in this, it is quite certain that the commencement of his reign promised much for the people of Rome. Though he caused Cherea to be put to death, yet he exhibited a degree of mildness in his conduct which had not, for a long time, been witnessed in the rulers of the empire. Justice was administered by him with great impartiality; and he was assiduous in hearing and examining the complaints even of the meanest of the citizens. Attentive to all the wants of the people, he kept the city well supplied with corn, and all the necessaries of life;

His efforts to promote the interests of the Empire.

and the style of building which he encouraged, far surpassed any that had, hitherto, been adopted. Through his instrumentality, also, an immense aqueduct was constructed, by means of which water was brought for the use of the city, from a distance of forty miles, through high mountains and over deep valleys. He also made a haven at Ostia, at such amazing expense that his successors were unable to maintain it; and, in order to strengthen the current of the river Tiber, he turned into its channel the waters of the Lake Fucinus.

Nor were the cares of Claudius directed to the city only. The most distant provinces enjoyed a share of his attentions. Whatever could conduce to their happiness and prosperity was eagerly promoted by him; and several princes of kingdoms dependent upon Rome, who had been unjustly dispossessed by his predecessors, were restored at his command. The cruel edicts of Caligula were disannulled, and he refused to receive the worship which had been offered to the monarch who preceded him.

Willing to gratify the people by foreign conquest, he made preparations for a descent upon the island of Britain, which had, now, for a long time, been left in the undisturbed posses-

sion of its inhabitants. He had some difficulty, at first, in overcoming the great aversion of his soldiers to making war in a country which they judged to be beyond the limits of the world; but they finally embarked, and the Britons, under the conduct of their king Cynobelinus, were several times overthrown. Claudius went to Britain himself, that he might, in person, participate in the honor of conquest; but his stay was of no longer duration than sixteen days, when he returned to Rome, where he was received with all the tributes which it had been customary to pay to the most distinguished conqueror. Triumphal arches were erected in his honor, and annual games instituted to commemorate his victories.

Plautius and Vespasian in the mean time continued the war in Britain, and, after a great many very bloody battles, finally reduced a portion of the island to a Roman province. But a new governor, named Ostorius, having been appointed to succeed Plautius, the Britons rose up in arms and disclaimed the Roman power. Another terrible war immediately ensued. The Romans, with great difficulty, maintained the honor of their arms; and, indeed, so formidable was the resistance of the Silures, or inhabitants of South Wales, under their king

Caractacus taken and sent to Rome.

Caractacus, that the Roman general was nearly discouraged. These people removing the seat of war into the most inaccessible parts of their country, defended themselves with the greatest obstinacy, and for the space of nine years kept the Romans in the utmost terror. Finally, Caractacus, driven to extremes, gathered together a powerful army, hoping, by one decisive battle, to be able to drive the invaders from his shores. Before engaging in it, he addressed his countrymen with calm resolution, relating to them the glorious deeds of their ancestors, and telling them that liberty or slavery depended upon their conduct. It was a terrible battle; but nothing that undisciplined valor could do, was of any avail against the superior skill of soldiers and generals trained to the art of war. The army of Caractacus was cut to pieces, and the wife and daughter of this heroic man were taken prisoners. Caractacus himself was afterwards treacherously delivered into the hands of the conquerors, and sent as a sort of trophy to Rome, where the utmost curiosity prevailed to see a man who had, for so many years, braved the power of the Roman arms. "Alas!" cried he, as he was led in triumph through the streets of the city, "how is it possible that people possessed of such magnificence

Claudius becomes indifferent to the Empire.

at home, should think of envying Caractacus an humble cottage in Britain?" The citizens of Rome gazed at him with astonishment, as he passed along the street; they seemed unable to realize the fact that there was upon the earth a man, who could dare to contend against a power like that of Rome. When he was brought before the emperor, he refused to sue for pity, as did the other captives; but Claudius had the generosity to spare his life.

By this victory of Ostorius, the Britons were very much humbled, but not by any means subdued. New revolts followed one another in quick succession, and their country was the scene of continual warfare during the whole reign of Claudius. The emperor himself, who had commenced so well, began, in the mean time, to show less regard for the public welfare, both at home and abroad. Feeling, perhaps, his inability to manage alone the affairs of his empire, he left them almost entirely to those about him; and, unfortunately, he happened to be surrounded by the most evil-minded persons in the world. The chief of these was Messalina, his wife, whose name has almost become a common term to express female profligacy.

Such was the sway borne by these insidious

advisers of the feeble emperor, that all offices, dignities, and governments were entirely at their disposal. Cruelties of every kind were also practised at their command ; and even the family of the emperor himself, was nearly exterminated through their instrumentality. As a very natural thing, conspiracies against the life of the emperor resulted from such disorders in the ministers of government. None of them were, however, productive of so much evil as the revolt of Camillus, the lieutenant-governor of Dalmatia. This general, supported by many of the leading men of Rome, openly rebelled against the emperor, and, assuming the title himself, threw Claudius in the utmost consternation. So great indeed was his terror, that when Camillus commanded him, by letter, to relinquish his empire and retire to a private station, he seemed actually inclined to obey, and, doubtless, would have obeyed, had not the legions under the command of Camillus deserted their leader on account of some remarkable prodigies, by which they were greatly terrified.

The scenes of horror which followed this event beggar all description. Messalina and her minions knew no bounds to their cruelty. They wrought so upon the fears and suspicions

of the emperor, that numbers were executed without trial or proof; and scarcely any, even of those who were barely suspected, escaped, except by the ransom of their lives with their fortunes.

One of the most affecting incidents of this terrible affair, was the death of Cecina Petus, one of the unfortunate associates of Camillus. This illustrious man, immediately after the death of Camillus, had escaped with his affectionate wife Arria, into Dalmatia, where he hoped to be secure against the emperor's revenge. But he was very soon apprehended, and put on board a ship, in order to be conveyed to Rome. Arria begged earnestly to be permitted to accompany him, and even offered to perform the offices of a slave, if she might simply be allowed to be near the object of her affections. It was in vain, however, that she used entreaties; she was not suffered to come on board the ship. But, determined not to be separated from her beloved husband, she procured a fisherman's bark, and sailed by the side of his vessel throughout the entire voyage. Arriving in Rome, she contrived to find access to his prison, and attended him faithfully, through a long and painful illness, resulting from his misfortunes. During this

sickness their only son was suddenly attacked and carried off by a fatal disorder. But even this did not diminish the care of Arria for her husband; she visited him with as much regularity as ever, and even managed to conceal from him their grievous loss, restraining her tears, and, in reply to the inquiries of Petus, saying that the child was "well," or "happy." And when, at length, the day was fixed, on which Petus was to die, she used every art to inspire him with resolution; but finding that he continued timid and wavering, she took a poniard, and, stabbing herself in his presence, presented it to him, exclaiming: "It gives me no pain, my Petus!"

To such an extent were the terrors of Claudius excited by Messalina and her favorites, that he began, at length, to devote himself wholly to the work of slaughter. Frequently the very individuals with whom he was supping, would be taken from the table and hurried to the place of execution, where they learned, for the first time, that sentence had been pronounced upon them. Some historians affirm that thirty-five senators, and above three hundred knights were executed during his reign; and such was his unconcern in the midst of cruelty, that one of his tribunes bring-

ing him an account of a certain senator that was executed, he owned that he had quite forgotten his offence, but calmly acquiesced in his punishment.

In the mean time Messalina, his wife, conducted in such a shameful and outrageous manner towards him, that he became greatly enraged, and she was obliged to conceal herself in order to escape instant death. Many of those who had conspired with her against the honor and peace of the emperor, were taken and put to death; and Messalina herself was finally discovered, and ordered to show the falsity of the accusations made against her. She might, perhaps, have made a successful defence, by means of her great influence over Claudius, had not Narcissus, her accuser, under pretence of having the authority of the emperor, given orders to the tribunes and centurions to destroy her immediately. The command was executed; and when Claudius heard of her death, he manifested no emotion of any kind whatever.

It is said that soon after this event, he made a public declaration that he would continue single during the rest of his life, as his marriage had been so unfortunate; but it was not long before he espoused Agrippina, the daughter

Agrippina secures the empire for her son Nero.

of his brother Germanicus, a woman who had poisoned her former husband, and who, if possible, was even more wicked than the late empress. Her character was not unknown to Claudius; but, having always been under the government of women, he found his new situation irksome.

As soon as Agrippina had become a partner in the empire, she began to contrive means for setting aside the claims of young Britannicus, the son of Claudius, and for securing the succession to her own son Nero. For this purpose, a few days after her own marriage, she married Nero to the emperor's daughter Octavia, and then urged the emperor to make, in imitation of his predecessors, a new adoption, advising him to take Nero as his associate in administering the affairs of government. It was no difficult matter for her to succeed in this; and Nero being thus placed in the road to advancement, she sought to increase his popularity, by putting him under the tutorship of Seneca, a man much beloved and admired by the people, for his genius and strict morality.

While Agrippina was thus doing so much for her own son, she pretended to have no less affection for Britannicus, the son of her husband, the emperor. For this young man she

exhibited, outwardly, the tenderest regard, while she was secretly plotting his destruction. But as there was no immediate necessity for putting him out of the way, she applied herself, first, to the removal of other and more formidable obstacles to her ambition. Claudius could not be completely under her dominion, so long as his faithful friend Narcissus was at hand to warn and counsel him. This trusty minister, who had already delivered his master from the hands of one abominable woman, was not, perhaps, slow to caution him against the devices of another. Agrippina discovered that Claudius bore her tyranny with great reluctance; and it was reported to her that he had been heard to say that it was his fate to suffer from his wives, until forced to become their executioner. Such a speech was calculated to alarm her, and she determined to rid herself of Narcissus, and thus acquire greater influence over Claudius.

Success attended her efforts. Narcissus, unable to counteract her designs, went, a voluntary exile, into Campania; and the poor emperor beheld himself, without a single friend, exposed to all the machinations of an insidious woman. Under these circumstances, his heart warmed, naturally enough, towards his son Britaunicus;

Claudius poisoned.

and it was perceptible, every day, that his affection for the youth was steadily increasing. This served to arouse still more the jealousy of Agrippina. No crime was now too great for her to perpetrate; and the death of her husband was resolved upon without the least hesitation. A notorious woman, named Locusta, was employed by her to prepare a potent poison, and to mix it with the favorite food of the emperor. Having eaten it, the wretched man dropped down insensible; but the dose did not prove fatal, and he would have, doubtless, recovered from its effects, had not an abandoned physician been directed to thrust a poisoned feather down his throat, under pretence of making him vomit. This put a period to his life, at the age of sixty-three, and in the fifty-fourth year of our Lord.

THE LAST OF THE CÆSARS.

FROM 55 TO 69 A. D.

NERO proclaimed Emperor—He begins his reign with clemency—His mother deprived of her power—Her efforts to regain it—Disorderly conduct of Nero—He plots against his mother—He destroys her—His passion for music—His performances in the Circus—His musical tour through Greece—His return—He causes Rome to be burned—Persecution of the Christians—Rebuilding of Rome—Nero's palace—A conspiracy against him—Its consequences—His treatment of Seneca—Death of Seneca—Further cruelties—The Britons—The Jews—Revolt of Galba—Nero's anger—His absurd preparations for war—His despair—His flight and death.



NERO'S EXPEDITION TO GREECE.

III.

THE LAST OF THE CÆSARS.

NOTWITHSTANDING the disastrous reigns of the preceding emperors, the Roman Empire seemed to be in a prosperous condition when Nero, the last of the Cæsars, ascended the throne. The number of the inhabitants of the city amounted to nearly seven millions; and, although there were no bounds to luxury and corruption, the military spirit of Rome still kept the world in awe.

Nero did not ascend the throne, without still farther aid from his wicked mother. This abominable woman had been told by an astrologer that her son would one day be emperor, and the cause of her death; but her reply was: "Let him kill me, provided he reign;" and, in accordance with this strong desire, she left nothing undone to place him in possession of the sovereign power. The murder of her hus-

Nero proclaimed Emperor.

band the emperor was, through her instrumentality, kept carefully concealed; and every thing was so adroitly managed, that, before his death had become known to the people, arrangements were made for securing the election of Nero. At the proper moment, this young man, then only seventeen years of age, accompanied by Burrhus, præfect of the Prætorian guard, appeared before the people and the army, as the successor of the departed emperor. Glad, perhaps, to be rid of a man who had established his authority by so many cruelties, they received the young claimant for empire with the loudest acclamations, though not without making some inquiries for Britannicus. By a well-concerted plan, these inquiries were all silenced; and Nero, having made the most flattering promises, after the manner of his predecessors, was without difficulty proclaimed emperor by the army, the Senate, and the people.

Indebted so much to Agrippina for his empire, he submitted, at first, to her directions, with the most implicit obedience; and she, taking advantage of her power, resented, in the most terrible manner, all the offences, fancied or real, which had been committed against her. Silanus, the pro-consul of Asia, Narcissus, the

He begins to reign with great mildness.

favorite of her late husband, and many others, were put to death to gratify her desire of revenge. But her cruelties found strong opposition in Seneca and Burrhus, the tutor and general of Nero, who succeeded in gaining him on their side, and in forming a plan of government merciful and wise. So long, indeed, as Nero listened to the counsels of these worthy men, his reign continued to be a model for succeeding princes. During a period of five years, he gave no exhibitions of his innate depravity. Strict justice, great liberality and humanity, marked all his actions; and so agreeable were his manners, that the Romans began to praise the gods for having sent them a prince who would make amends for the tyranny of those who had preceded him.

But a reign which commenced with so much clemency was destined to terminate with the most barbarous cruelty. Agrippina, the mother of Nero, could not endure the loss of power which she experienced, in consequence of the influence exerted over the young monarch by his counsellors, Seneca and Burrhus. She determined, if possible, to regain her former authority, and, to this end, resorted to every artifice. Nero, encouraged constantly to oppose her cruelties, deprived her, by degrees, of the

Nero's mother angry at her loss of power—Her efforts to regain it.

means which she possessed of doing mischief; but, having gone so far as to displace her chief favorite, Pallas, she fell into the most ungovernable fury, and proclaimed that Nero was an usurper, and that Britannicus, the real heir to the throne, was still living, and in a condition to receive his father's empire. She even threatened Nero with the declaration that she would present herself before the army, and there expose his baseness, as well as her own.

These menaces filled him with alarm. He knew very well that the claims of Britannicus to the throne were far greater than his own; but he had never before thought of doing him a personal injury. The fears, however, thus excited, of losing his power, led him even to meditate the death of Britannicus, and he eventually brought it about, by means of poison administered to him at a banquet.

Though Agrippina was thus deprived of a powerful means of terrifying her son Nero into compliance with her wishes, she was not totally disarmed. By bribing and flattering the tribunes and centurions, she endeavored to create factions, and even succeeded in making herself somewhat formidable to him. The result of this was, that Nero disbanded the German guard which she was permitted to have about

Disorderly conduct of Nero.

her, and compelled her to remove from the palace. He even forbade certain persons to visit her, and never visited her, himself, except with the greatest ceremony.

From this time, it seems as if Nero was becoming less and less influenced by the counsels of Seneca and Burrhus. Although familiarized, by the former, with philosophy and elegant literature, and made acquainted, by the latter, with every thing necessary to the formation of a great general and statesman, he began, finally, to prefer the company of vile, unprincipled persons, and to abandon himself to the most irregular courses. He seemed to take a strange delight in running about the city, by night, in the disguise of a slave, and in committing all sorts of excesses, in which he not only endangered the lives of others, but also his own. Nor did he take any pains to conceal his conduct. The people, in general, attributed it to his youth, and overlooked it for the sake of his liberality and kindness as a ruler. But those of his own age regarded him as an example worthy to imitate, and the city was, in consequence, filled every night with tumult and disorder.

From petty transgressions of the rules of decency, Nero at length passed to the commission

Bad influence of Poppea—He plots against his mother.

of the greatest enormities. For some trifling reason, he abandoned his wife Octavia, and married Poppea, the wife of his favorite Otho, a woman as much celebrated for beauty as she was notorious for the want of every virtue. At this circumstance his mother Agrippina pretended to be greatly shocked; and she lavished the most disgraceful epithets upon Poppea. She sought, also, by every device, to gain the favor of her son; but this was now a more difficult matter than before, for, in addition to his own disinclination to receive her, she had also to contend with the resentment of his new wife, who possessed a powerful influence over him. Through this infamous woman, he was doubtless induced, finally, to cause his mother's death. He was not yet so hardened in iniquity as to proceed to such a crime at once. Poppea prepared him for it by degrees, inciting him, at first, to tease Agrippina with lawsuits, and to employ mean people to sing satirical songs under her windows. At last he was induced to believe that he was not sure of his throne so long as Agrippina lived; and then he resolved to put her forever out of his way. His first attempt was by poison; but Agrippina kept herself so well fortified by antidotes, that this was quite impracticable. He then endeavored to

He succeeds in destroying her.

have her drowned while upon an excursion to the coast of Calabria, but failing in this also, he resolved to put her to death openly. That a deed so unnatural might, however, have some appearance of justice, he caused a report to be circulated that Agrippina had conspired against him; and a poniard was dropped at his feet by a person who pretended that he had been employed by her to assassinate him. Nero endeavored to get Seneca and Burrhus to approve of his horrible design. But Seneca would not say a word in reply to his solicitations, and Burrhus declared that he would have nothing to do with such a piece of enormity.

At last one of Nero's freedmen, named Anicetus, offered to perform the dreadful service; and, placing himself at the head of a company of soldiers, he proceeded to the dwelling of Agrippina. The house was surrounded, and an entrance to the apartment containing the unhappy woman having been forcibly effected, this vile wretch, accompanied by some members of his crew, found himself in the presence of his victim. Agrippina knew, at once, that her doom was sealed; but, waving her hand towards the ruffians, she cried out: "If you come to inquire after my health, you may inform the emperor that I am better; but if you

Nero's passion for music.

come with any worse intention, you alone, and not my son, must be guilty!" In reply, a club was immediately dashed against her head, but not with fatal effect. Anicetus then drew his sword, to dispatch her. Observing his action, she tore open her robe, and, presenting her naked bosom, exclaimed: "Strike here, for this place gave nourishment to a monster!"

This dreadful deed was defended before the Senate, on the following day, by Nero himself, and the Senate not only excused, but even applauded it.

It seems strange that a man who could be guilty of such an awful crime, should have a passion for arts that soften and refine the heart. This was, however, the case; and it is even said that he had been addicted to them from his childhood. The principles of music were among his earliest studies; and, as soon as he ascended the throne, he placed himself under the most celebrated masters, and submitted, with the utmost patience, to all their instructions. Notwithstanding all his assiduity, he still possessed a feeble and unpleasant voice. But a person in his position could not fail to find those who were ready to listen to his tiresome performances, and to rank him among the finest musicians in the world.

His performances in the circus

Chariot-driving was also one of his favorite pursuits. It is said that he never missed the circus when chariot races were to be exhibited there. At first he attended in a private way; then he appeared publicly; and, finally, he determined to take a prominent part in them himself. Every thing was done by his counsellors, Seneca and Burrhus, to prevent him from engaging in a business that comported so illy with the great dignity of his station; but their efforts being all in vain, they inclosed a large space of ground in the valley of the Vatican, where he first exhibited his feats of horsemanship to a few chosen spectators, and, finally, to all who desired to attend.

Not content with the praises bestowed upon him for these performances, he determined to give the people specimens of his musical abilities, and, with this design, he instituted a series of games called Juveniles, at which he appeared upon the stage, surrounded by centurions and tribunes, and tuning his instrument to his voice, like a player of long experience. The people, who were afraid to do otherwise, testified the greatest pleasure at this pitiful exhibition; and the royal musician was so much gratified by their demonstrations, that he resolved to make the tour of his empire, and give

everybody an opportunity to witness his skill. His first exhibition, after leaving Rome, was at Naples, the immense theatre of which was crowded to suffocation, and then closed, so that no one, by leaving the place, might disturb the great performer. The people, notwithstanding their eagerness to gain admission, soon became weary of the emperor's wretched music, and some of them leaped, stealthily, from the walls, or pretended to fall into swoons, in order that they might be carried out. An old senator, named Vespasian, barely escaped with his life, for being so disrespectful as to go to sleep.

It was not very long before reports of the strange actions of the emperor reached Greece; and the cities of that country sent deputies to Rome, inviting him to give them a taste of his musical performances. These deputies succeeded so well in gratifying his vanity, that he prepared, without delay, to go into Greece, where he spent the whole of the ensuing year. The retinue which accompanied him upon this journey, resembled a vast army, but it was composed only of singers, dancers, tailors, and other attendants upon the theatre. Thus escorted, he travelled throughout all the cities of Greece, exhibiting himself at their games, and carrying off no fewer than eighteen hundred

His return to Rome.

crowns, awarded to him, if not by merit, at least by favor. On his return, he entered Naples through a breach in the walls of the city, an honor which was accorded to those who were conquerors in the Olympic games. But his entrance into Rome was splendid, beyond description. Here, dressed in purple robes, and crowned with wild olive, he made his appearance in the chariot of Augustus. In his own hand he bore the Pythian chaplet, while the eighteen hundred crowns which had been accorded to him were carried in advance. By his side sat Diodorus, a celebrated musician; and in his rear followed a legion of singers, who chanted in honor of his victories. The Senate, the knights, and the people, filled the air with their acclamations; all the streets smoked with incense; victims were slain on every hand; the pavements were strewed with saffron, and garlands and ribbons were showered upon the emperor from every window as he passed along.

Such were, for a long time, the amusements of Nero; but these failing, eventually, to satisfy him, he began a course of extravagance and cruelty, which has placed his name among the first of those who have rendered themselves objects of an unmitigated hatred. A recital of

He causes the city to be set on fire.

all his crimes would not only be too disgusting to read, but would form a volume by themselves. The brutal murder of his own mother fitted him for the commission of every enormity; and, by turns, he destroyed Domitia, his aunt, Burrhus, his faithful counsellor, and Octavia, his wife. "My predecessors," said he, on one of these occasions, "did not know the rights of monarchy; people may hate me, if they only fear me."

Murder alone, failing, at last, to satisfy his love of cruelty, he endeavored to season it by different horrible accompaniments. For the purpose of gratifying this terrible appetite, he caused, on one occasion, the city of Rome to be set on fire in several places; and then, dressing himself in the costume of an actor, mounted one of the highest towers of his palace, to enjoy the scene, and to repeat verses, in a theatrical manner, upon the destruction of Troy. For nine days this terrible fire continued to burn, with the most disastrous effects. Thousands upon thousands of people were turned homeless and penniless in the streets. The most beautiful monuments of art and of history were leveled to the dust; and the whole city presented such an aspect of wretchedness, as it is not in the power of language to depict.

The persecution of the Christians.

But such a vast amount of misery could not be occasioned without some exhibition of indignation against its cause; and Nero, fearing that he might have carried his enormities somewhat too far, denied any agency in the affair, and charged the whole guilt of it upon the Christians, who were now becoming quite numerous in Rome. In consequence of this false accusation, the most terrible persecution was commenced against these unfortunate and innocent persons. Nothing could exceed the cruelty of the treatment which they received at the hands of this heartless wretch. Throughout every portion of the city they were hunted like wild beasts; and many of them, actually dressed in the skins of animals, were forced into the grasp of furious dogs, who killed and devoured them. Some were crucified, and others were burned alive. At times the whole city would be lighted by the fagots that were kindled about the bodies of these unhappy beings; while the emperor, dressed up like a charioteer, regaled himself with their tortures. It was during this terrible persecution that St. Paul was beheaded, and St. Peter crucified, with his head downward.

But this barbarous treatment of the Christians did not serve to rid the emperor of the

suspicion, that the conflagration of Rome was the work of his own hands; and well aware that everybody believed him to be the author of it, he endeavored, if possible, to establish his innocence, by causing the city to be rebuilt in a far more splendid manner than it was before. The work went on with the greatest rapidity, and Rome, in the end, became more magnificent than ever; but nothing could exceed in splendor the new palace of Nero. Such was its extent, that within its very walls were inclosed parks, lakes, and vineyards. The apartments were adorned with the richest metals and the most precious jewels. The ceiling of the principal chamber was movable, turning around in imitation of the starry firmament; and the entrance to the palace was so spacious, as to admit a colossal statue of the emperor one hundred and twenty feet in height. But when this magnificent building was completed, Nero took possession of it with the very quiet observation that, now, he was lodged like a man.

The rebuilding of Rome, and especially of the palace of Nero, was not accomplished without extortions of every kind, and in every direction; still his subjects, with the exception of the Christians, had comparatively little to com-

Consequences of the conspiracy against Nero.

plain of his cruelties. These cruelties had been, hitherto, chiefly confined to his own kindred; but, at length, the discovery of a conspiracy formed against him, caused his brutality to be felt on every hand. Many of the principal families of Rome were engaged in this conspiracy, and, consequently, a great number of the chief men of the city fell victims to his wrath. Among these was the celebrated poet, Lucan; also, the famous philosopher, Seneca, who had always been the friend and faithful counsellor of Nero.

It is true that Seneca, after vainly endeavoring to correct the evil propensities of the emperor, had virtually withdrawn the assistance of his valuable advice, by retiring from court into solitude and privacy; but it is by no means certain that he was of the number of those who plotted against his life. Nero, however, either because he believed him guilty, or for the sake of his wealth, or on account of the hatred of his virtues, determined upon his death, and, accordingly, sent a tribune to notify him that he was suspected of being concerned in the conspiracy. Seneca received the tribune, and listened to his communication without the slightest exhibition of fear; and this was reported to the cruel emperor, who immedi-

Nero's treatment of Seneca—Death of Seneca—Further cruelties.

ately cried out: "Then go to him again, and give him my orders to die!"

But even this terrible command had no effect upon the calmness of Seneca. He simply asked permission to make some alterations in his will, in favor of some friends who happened to be with him at the time. This privilege being, however refused to him, he turned to his friends and said: "Since I am not permitted to leave you any marks of my affection, at least I leave you one legacy, more precious than all the rest—my example."

The only favor which Nero was willing to grant to Seneca, was the choice of the manner of his death. The philosopher, accordingly, caused his veins to be opened; but impatient at the slowness of the operation, he demanded poison; and this being also tardy in its effect, he was finally drowned in a warm bath. It is said that during his sufferings he dictated a discourse to his secretary, which was afterwards read with the utmost eagerness by the people, who held Seneca in the greatest reverence.

The consequence of this conspiracy against Nero was to fill the whole city with slaughter, and frightful instances of treason. Everywhere people took advantage of it, to avenge themselves of private injuries. Slaves accused

their masters of being concerned in it; and in some cases children were base enough to make it instrumental in causing the destruction of their parents. All the country surrounding Rome was occupied by soldiers, who were in pursuit of the suspected and the guilty, and crowds of wretches, loaded with chains, were, every day, brought up to the palace gates to receive their sentence from the bloody tyrant, who took a peculiar pleasure in pronouncing it with his own lips.

The Roman governors in the different provinces of the Empire seemed to be more or less influenced by the terrible example of the emperor; and, in some instances, their cruelties were so great as to cause open revolt on the part of their subjects. This was the case among the Britons, who, under the conduct of their queen, Boadicea, rose up against the Roman power, destroyed London, and massacred seventy thousand of their enemies. They were, however, finally subdued, and Boadicea herself, seeing her destruction inevitable, took poison, rather than fall into the hands of her merciless victors.

A revolt also took place among the Jews, in consequence of the oppression which they experienced from the Roman governors, one of

Sergius Galba proclaimed emperor.

whom went so far as to issue a public proclamation, in which he permitted the country to be plundered, on condition that the spoils should be equally divided with himself. Nor did the infamous Nero attempt to check the outrages committed by those who represented him abroad.

There now remained nothing monstrous or inhuman, of which this tyrant had not been guilty. All those who should have been nearest and dearest to him, had fallen victims to his insatiable cruelty; even his wife Poppea, for whom he had sacrificed the Empress Octavia, had been killed by a blow from his own foot; and the valiant generals, who had led on his armies to victory, were, one by one, slain at his command; still, he appeared in nowise weary of his horrible employments, and continued to pursue them with undiminished activity. But human nature, at last, grew weary of such unmitigated wrongs, and the whole world seemed to rise up with a determination to get rid of so terrible a monster.

The first declaration made against him was by the legions in Gaul, under the command of Julius Vindex. This valorous general resolved that he would no longer serve a man, who had proved himself far worse than the very worst

Nero's reception of the news of this conspiracy.

of brutes; and he accordingly proclaimed as emperor, Sergius Galba, a brave old general, who was then the governor and head of the legions in Spain.

Nero was at Naples when he received the news of this revolt. He seemed to feel but little concern, as to the safety of his empire, though he heard with great indignation, the ridicule which the manifestoes of Vindex threw upon his musical talents. While the epithets of tyrant and murderer did not affect him in the least, it galled him sadly to be called a miserable singer; and as he read what Vindex had written against him, he frequently turned to those about his person, and inquired whether it was possible, that one who had studied music so long and carefully should deserve such treatment. He determined, however, to have his revenge, and, accordingly, set a reward of ten millions of sesterces upon the head of Vindex, and then repaired to Rome, where the utmost consternation prevailed on account of the revolt, concerning which, the reports were every hour becoming more and more exciting.

Soon after his entrance into the city, he called together a number of his favorites in the Senate, for the purpose of taking some meas-

Galba's revolt—Nero's anger.

ures to subdue the party of Vindex; but instead of laying the matter before them, in order to obtain their advice, he produced a number of musical instruments, designed to be played upon by water, and entered into a long explanation of their mechanism, advantages and defects, adding, in an ironical tone, that he "hoped, with the consent of Vindex, to exhibit these instruments upon the theatre."

Many days, however, did not elapse, before intelligence reached Rome of the revolt of Galba. Nero was seated at his supper table, when the news arrived; and so great was the terror with which he was struck, on learning the defection of this great general, that he turned over the table with his foot, and fell into a swoon. On recovering therefrom, he tore his clothes and hair, exclaiming that he was undone. So frantic, indeed, did he at length become, that he resolved to massacre all the governors of the different provinces, murder every one of the Gauls in Rome, poison the whole Senate, burn up again the city, and turn the lions, kept for the purposes of the theatre, loose upon the people. Finding, however, that no particular advantage could be derived from such extravagance, even if it were practicable, he more wisely concluded to meet his enemies.

His absurd preparations for war—His despair.

But his usual folly was displayed in the preparations which he made for this purpose. A large army of men was indeed raised, and properly equipped, but his chief care was to provide ample conveyances for his musical instruments, his singers and dancers, also to dress in the costume of Amazons a large number of unprincipled women, upon whose services he much relied.

In the midst of these absurd preparations, intelligence was brought to Rome that several other provinces had also revolted, and that the whole empire was ready to shake off the yoke of the cruel tyrant. A portion of the army of Nero, it is true, had fallen upon, and routed the Gauls under the command of Vindex, but the same victorious troops were immediately in readiness to turn their arms against the emperor. Indeed, the revolt was now so general that Nero, unable to find a single man except his body-guard to fight in his behalf, provided himself with poison, as a preparative against the worst, and resolved to make his escape into Egypt. But, upon inviting the few soldiers around him to accompany him in his flight, they all excused themselves, under different pretexts, and, before midnight, deserted him, and proclaimed themselves in favor of Galba.

His flight—Phaon's protection.

Ascertaining his forlorn condition, he sprang from his bed, and desired a favorite gladiator, who happened to be near, to dispatch him with his sword; but the gladiator fled from his presence, and the wretched Nero, only partly dressed, rushed from his palace with the determination to plunge into the Tiber. But the poor coward, unable to encounter death, stopped before he reached the river-side, and meeting Phaon, one of his freedmen, begged of him a place of shelter. Phaon took pity on him, and conducted him four miles from Rome, to his country house, into the back part of which he entered stealthily, creeping through the reeds and brambles, with which the place was overrun.

But Phaon and the two or three domestics who were with him, soon grew weary of their charge, for they knew that, ere long, the emissaries of the Senate would be in pursuit of the bloody tyrant; and Nero, moreover, did nothing, after he reached the house, but moan, and groan, and act in the most outrageous manner. Phaon endeavored, therefore, to persuade him to destroy himself, urging upon him that he would doubtless be put to a cruel death, if he fell into the hands of his enemies. Nero consented, and bade Phaon and the servants to go and dig him

a grave, and bring the water necessary to wash his body ; but when the dagger was placed in his hand, he could not summon resolution enough to strike.

On the next day a diligent search was made in Rome for Nero, but he could not be found ; and the Senate assembling, pronounced him an enemy of the State, and sentenced him to be stripped naked, and scourged to death. A report of their proceedings having been carried to him, he seized a poniard in each hand, and, examining closely their points, returned them to their scabbards, saying that his hour had not yet come. But he knew that this hour was close at hand, and that the soldiers of the Senate were perhaps even then riding towards his place of concealment. He began, therefore, to reproach himself, exclaiming : “ Does this become Nero ? Is this trifling well timed ? No, no : let me be courageous ! ” and, while thus engaged, the clatter of approaching horses fell upon his ear. Again he seized a dagger, and placed its point against his throat ; but, unable still to drive it in, he begged one of the servants to assist him ; and the noise of the pursuers increasing without, the servant, in pity, gave the poor wretch the fatal stab. The soldiers of the Senate rushed into the room just

Rejoicings at Rome.

as he fell. One of them tried to stanch the wound, but Nero, with his last breath, told him that it was now too late; and thus he died, in the thirty-second year of his age.

The news of the death of this dreadful tyrant was received at Rome with demonstrations of the greatest joy; and couriers were dispatched to Galba, and to all the provinces, to relate the happy tidings. The people went about the city with liberty-caps upon their heads, singing, and dancing, and expressing their satisfaction in every possible manner. All the statues of the emperor were also thrown down and destroyed, while thousands went to the house of Phaon to view his lifeless body, and to triumph over his death.

TRANSIENT RULERS.

FROM 69 TO 71 A. D.

GALBA's severity—His reforms—His avarice—Disparaging stories—Jealousy—He adopts a successor—Otho's scheme to obtain the throne—Assassination of Galba—Otho ascends the throne—His first acts—Revolt of Vitellius—Contest between Otho and Vitellius—Defeat of Otho—Its effect upon him—His death—Vitellius marches to Rome—His indolence and gluttony—He incurs the odium of the people—Vespasian resolves to displace him—His preparations to effect this—Antonius sent against Vitellius—Civil wars—Success of Vespasian—Execution of Vitellius.

IV.

TRANSIENT RULERS.

THE reign of Nero, the last of the line of the Cæsars, was followed by a few months of civil discord, during which three emperors successively ascended the throne, the first of whom was Servius Galba, a distinguished general, whose native virtues and great abilities marked him as a man eminently qualified for such a responsible position. It is true that he was quite advanced in age, being already in his seventy-second year; but he still possessed remarkable vigor both of body and mind. The nomination to the throne had been in nowise desired by him; and it is even said that when he received it, he was so disturbed at the idea of being elevated to such a dignity, that he contemplated suicide. A message from the Senate announcing the death of Nero, and naming him as the successor to the throne, de-

terminated him, however, to assume the empire; and taking, therefore, the title and ensigns of royalty, he set forth from Spain, where he was then in command, to Rome.

As he approached the city, an immense body of mariners, whom Nero had enlisted among the legions, went out to meet him, and demanded a confirmation of the favor granted to them by his predecessor. Galba endeavoring to defer an answer to their request, they considered the delay as equivalent to a denial, and behaved in a very disrespectful manner, insisting upon an immediate response, and even brandishing their arms in token of a determination to compel him to grant their wishes. Without a moment's hesitation, Galba gave orders to a large body of horse to march among them, and seven thousand were slain upon the spot.

These mariners, doubtless, deserved some punishment for their insolence, but the severity exercised upon this occasion was illy calculated to make a favorable impression upon the people over whom he had just been called to rule. Besides this, he began, as soon as he ascended the throne, to root out, in the most violent manner, the vices which had grown so enormously during the previous reign; also to replenish the treasury, now exhausted by the prodigality of

His avarice—Disparaging stories.

his predecessors. These things were certainly commendable in themselves, though undertaken somewhat prematurely, for the people of Rome were not altogether prepared to step at once from the depths of vice to the summits of virtue. Galba, therefore, soon acquired the name of an austere and avaricious man; and all manner of ridicule was heaped upon him, and stories of every kind were circulated in regard to his meanness, and in disparagement of his intellect, and even of his honesty. There was indeed some reason to believe that his fondness for money exceeded his love of justice, for, not long after his return to Rome, he caused all the bloody ministers of Nero's cruelties to be publicly executed, with the exception of the most notorious of them all, who was said to have purchased his pardon by the sacrifice of his wealth.

It is however, a matter of much doubt, whether this, and other equally unworthy acts are to be directly attributed to Galba. He was, unfortunately, too much under the influence of these unprincipled men, who took every opportunity to abuse his confidence, and by whose conflicting counsels, he soon rendered himself an object of contempt among his subjects. It is far more than probable, that the

criminal acts imputed to him, had their origin in these cunning and selfish counsellors.

Be this as it may, the people were very soon dissatisfied with their new emperor, and were ready to change him for another, whenever an opportunity occurred.* Galba had been elevated to empire, through the instrumentality of the army in Spain, and now, jealousies began to spring up in the armies of the other provinces, who desired the achievement of something similar. One of the armies in Germany was especially desirous of placing their general, Vitellius, upon the throne; and, when, in due time, they were called to take the oaths of homage and fidelity to Galba, they refused to recognize him as emperor, and demanded that the supreme authority should be vested in their general, Vitellius.

Having no children, and believing that he would be able to strengthen his position by the adoption of some one as his heir and successor, he made known his determination, and was at once importuned to adopt Marcus Salvius Otho, formerly a confidant of Nero, and pro-consul in Lusitania. Otho himself besought him to declare in his favor, and urged his services in procuring for him the empire. But Galba had already determined that Piso Lu-

Otho's scheme to obtain the throne—Assassination of Galba.

cinianus, a man of great virtues, should be his heir; and when his adoption was publicly made, Otho resolved to obtain the empire by force.

By means of sums of money which he was enabled to borrow, Otho bribed some of the officers of the Prætorian bands, and through their influence he also succeeded in corrupting the fidelity of the soldiers themselves. So much power had he acquired over them within the short space of eight days, that he hesitated no longer to declare to them, in a lengthy speech, his determination to ascend the throne. Galba was stigmatized by him as cruel and avaricious, and unworthy of the empire; and when the harangue of Otho was concluded, the soldiers took him upon their shoulders, and, with drawn swords, carried him into their camp, and proclaimed him emperor.

The news of this revolt was a dreadful blow to Galba, but a report of Otho's sudden death having immediately succeeded it, he regained his courage, and, buckling on his armor, rode forth into the Forum, accompanied by a number of his followers. Just at this moment, a company of Otho's troops entered the place from an opposite direction. Observing the emperor in a comparatively defenceless condition, they rushed upon him with murderous

Otho ascends the throne.

design. Galba, perceiving that it was impossible to save his life, rode forward from the midst of his followers, to meet the assassins; and, bending his head over his horse's neck, bade the foremost of them to strike it off, if it was for the good of Rome. This was accomplished in the twinkling of an eye, and the head, being stuck upon a pole, was taken to Otho, who ordered it to be carried about the camp in the most contemptuous manner. The body of Galba, after lying several days in the streets, was finally buried by some of his friends. Thus, in the seventy-third year of his age, and after a reign of only seven months, died another of the emperors of Rome.

As soon as the assassination of Galba had become generally known throughout the city, the senators and the people rushed to the camp of Otho, to pay him their homage, and to congratulate him on his success. Such a hearty approval of his conduct inspired the new emperor with the utmost confidence, and he set forth at once from his camp to the Senate chamber, where he received the titles and ensigns of royalty. Thence he went to his palace, resolving, as was evinced by his subsequent behavior, to make himself a ruler worthy of the respect and admiration of his subjects.

One of the first of his acts was to pardon all those who had opposed most strenuously his efforts to obtain the empire; and the very man who had taken the most active part against him, he advanced to an office of the highest trust. Immediately after this, he caused the most notorious minister of Nero's cruelties, whom Galba had suffered to escape, to be arrested and punished as he deserved. Then he recalled to the city those who had fled from it, to avoid the rage of Nero; and restored to them, and to all others, the possessions of which they had been robbed by this merciless tyrant.

But the reign which promised so much happiness to Rome, was destined to be of even shorter duration than that of Galba. Aulus Vitellius, the commander of the legions of Lower Germany, had long desired to make himself master of the empire, and, by means of large expenditures of money, together with the most extravagant promises, he had succeeded in gaining over to his wishes the officers and soldiers under him. These men, asserting that they had as much right as the cohorts of Rome to choose an emperor, proclaimed Vitellius as their choice, and boldly declared that they were ready to maintain his cause by an

appeal to arms. The greatest consternation prevailed in the city, when the news of this revolt arrived ; and no one, perhaps, regretted, more than Otho, the evils likely to ensue from it. Though formerly a weak, vicious, and debauched man, since his elevation to the empire he seemed to have been transformed into another being. The welfare of his people was now apparently nearest to his heart, and benevolence, humanity, and patriotism characterized all his actions. Conscious, no doubt, that the means by which he had raised himself to power, were no better than those now about to be employed against him by Vitellius, he found no charge against his rival, which could not be brought with equal force against himself. It was therefore with extreme reluctance that he gave his generals permission to march out against the legions of Vitellius, which were, now, upon their way to Italy. Nor would he consent to this at all, until after he had first offered to share the empire with his rival, and had done every thing in his power to avert the ills of war.

When there seemed to be no alternative but bloodshed, he collected a powerful army, which he accompanied as far as the city of Brixellum, and thence sent forward under the

conduct of his two generals, Suetonius and Celsus. Vitellius himself, remaining in Gaul, had dispatched seventy thousand men, under the command of Valens and Cecina, towards Rome. These hostile armies encountered one another in due season; and, during three successive days, three bloody fights ensued, in all of which the legions of Otho were successful, though not completely victorious. At length, however, the generals of Vitellius received large reinforcements from Gaul, and another engagement took place, in which the troops of Otho, although at first apparently victorious, were forced to fly midst a most terrible slaughter.

Otho himself was at Brixellum, anxiously awaiting some tidings from the field of battle. First came the news that his legions had succeeded in capturing the eagles of the enemy; then that they were near to victory; but at length no messenger at all arrived, and he began to chide his officers for not attending to their duties. Finally a poor soldier who had belonged to his now scattered army came in, covered with blood and dust, and related to him the dreadful termination of the battle. Otho was loth to believe the terrible intelligence; and the flatterers by whom he was sur-

Its effect upon him.

rounded accused the soldier of cowardice and falsehood. This was more than the poor fellow could endure, so he drew his sword, and, plunging it through his own body, told them that thus he was willing to prove that he was neither a coward nor a liar.

Such was the effect produced upon Otho by the death of this faithful soldier, that he immediately exclaimed that he would no longer be the cause of the destruction of such valiant men ; that he would die himself, and thus save his country from further calamity. The friends around endeavored to cheer his mind, and to encourage him to make still further efforts against his enemies ; but it was all in vain ; and, in the mean time, the officers, and many of the soldiers of his shattered army coming near, he turned and thus addressed them : " I esteem this day as far more glorious than that of my election, since it has convinced me of your fidelity and affection. I must however entreat for one favor more ; which is to die, in order to procure your safety ; I can never so much advance the interests of my country by war and blood, as by sacrificing myself for its peace. Others have purchased fame by governing well ; let it be my boast to leave an empire, rather than, by my ambition, to weaken or destroy it."

Death of Otho.

No one present could fail to admire the noble generosity of the emperor; and every one, at the close of his address, was still more desirous than ever to prevent his fatal purpose. He assured them, however, that his resolution was firmly taken; and, urging them to yield, at once, to Vitellius, he entered his chamber to write farewell letters to his sister, and to his betrothed. These being finished, he prepared himself for death. But a great tumult having arisen among his soldiers, he opened his chamber door, and employed the remaining part of the day in checking their violence, and in giving good advice to all such as chose to receive it from him. Towards evening, he again closed his door, and taking nothing but a draught of cold water, stretched himself upon his bed, and slept till the break of day, when he arose, and, taking a dagger from beneath his pillow, gave himself a mortal wound, and thus ended his life, after a short reign of three months and five days.

The news of the death of Otho was received with great lamentation by his soldiers, who were unwilling, notwithstanding his advice, to go and join the ranks of Vitellius. At first they entreated a distinguished general named Virginius to assume the title of emperor, but

Vitellius marches to Rome—His entrance into the city.

not being able to prevail upon him to do so, they sent an ambassador to the generals of Vitellius, and obtained a pardon on condition of their submission to his authority.

During all this time Vitellius was still in Gaul; but the Roman Senate had no hesitation in proclaiming him emperor, and he set forward, without delay, to join his army and to enter Rome. On passing over the field where the bloody battle which gave him the empire was fought, he stopped to gaze upon the dead bodies of the men and horses that lay everywhere about, putrefying and tainting the air with their stench. And, snuffing up the loathsome breeze, he remarked, with disgusting coolness, that the smell of dead enemies was quite refreshing. On approaching Rome, he affected the utmost splendor in his appearance, and suffered his army to follow him without any regard to order or decency. The country over which they passed was, consequently, rendered almost desolate, by the unrestrained ravages of his soldiery; and when he reached the city, he entered it, not as its ruler, but rather as its conqueror. He marched through the principal streets on horseback and cased in armor, causing the Senate to walk before him, like so many slaves on foot. On the fol-

lowing day he made a very pompous speech, in which he magnified himself into a hero, giving to all an idea that he possessed the power of the very gods to benefit mankind.

The manner in which he intended to administer the affairs of the empire was soon apparent. Every thing was intrusted to an unprincipled freedman, named Asiaticus, who, with a band of players and charioteers, succeeded in bringing the government into the utmost contempt. Unwilling to assume the cares of ruling, he abandoned himself to all kinds of luxury and profuseness. But, of all the vices to which he was addicted, gluttony rendered him the most disgusting. His meals, of course, were always of the most sumptuous character; and, in order that he might eat of all the various dishes under which his table groaned, he would stuff himself to suffocation, and then disgorging the contents of his stomach, commence again; thus eating and vomiting, by turns, until he was no longer able to put the viands into his mouth. The sums of money which his entertainments cost were prodigious. About thirty millions of dollars, it is said, were spent in maintaining his table during the short space of four months. Fortunately his reign was very short, for had it been of any great dura-

His prodigality and rapacity.

tion, the whole wealth of the empire would not have been sufficient to furnish him with food. And short, even, as it was, his prodigality began, at last, to produce want, and this, in turn, rendered him cruel and rapacious.

His coffers becoming empty, he resorted, at first, to money-lenders in order to replenish them; but no money-lender was ever fortunate enough to recover from him a loan. Indeed, it is said that if any one of them ever dared to remind him of a debt, he would quickly cause it to be cancelled by the knife of the public executioner. Money-lending, upon such terms, proving to be rather an unprofitable business, there were, soon, none to follow it; and the needy monarch was compelled to adopt other means of supplying his demands. On one occasion, therefore, hearing of the sickness of one of his wealthy associates, he went to visit him, and, mingling a quantity of poison with his medicine, administered it with his own hand, and afterwards took possession of the dead man's fortune. At another time, hearing a Roman knight, who had been condemned to death, cry out, in hope of mercy, that he had made the emperor his heir, he demanded to see the will, where finding himself joint inheritor with another person, he ordered both to be

He incurs the odium of the people.

executed, and thus enjoyed the legacy without a partner.

By such conduct, Vitellius could not fail to render himself, soon, odious to all mankind. A termination to his reign was regarded as in every way desirable; and prognostications of his downfall were continually made. One day a writing was put up in the Forum to this effect: "We, in the name of the ancient Chaldeans, give Vitellius warning to depart this life by the calends of October." In consequence of this, he became so exasperated that he ordered all the astrologers to be banished from Rome. Again, an old woman predicted that if he survived his mother, he would reign many years in peace and happiness. The base wretch immediately caused his mother's death, by refusing her sustenance, under pretence that her health would be thereby impaired. But he very soon began to entertain fears, founded on something more formidable than mere prognostications. His mad behavior had rendered him altogether insupportable, and the spirit of revolt spread, consequently, to every portion of the empire. Vespasian, commander of the legions in Judea, and who had been sent into that country to suppress an insurrection of the Jews, learned of the great detestation in which

Vespasian resolves to displace Vitellius.

Vitellius was held at Rome. This valiant general had already reduced all the country, except Jerusalem, to subjection, although the disorders in the government at home, during the last three transient reigns, had been a constant hindrance to his operations. He, as well as his legions, were becoming discontented with such a state of things, and a resolution was finally taken to displace Vitellius, and give the empire into the hands of some one competent to receive it.

It was no difficult matter for Vespasian, under these circumstances, to procure the suffrages of his soldiers. Indeed, not only the legions under his own command, but even those in Maesia and Pannonia, resolved to place him upon the throne; and, without his knowledge, he was also proclaimed emperor at Alexandria. At first, he affected to decline the honors offered to him, but his soldiers threatened to put him to death immediately, in case he rejected a title which, without doubt, he was very willing to receive.

As soon as he had signified his acceptance of the empire, his principal officers were called together, and a resolution taken to leave his son Titus to carry on the war against the Jews, and to send Mutianus, with the greatest part of

Preparations made to oppose him.

his legions, into Italy, while he himself was to be engaged in levying forces in all parts of the East, for the purpose of establishing his authority.

In due time, intelligence of all these proceedings was brought to Rome, and Vitellius, without in the least abating his abominable sloth and gluttony, resolved to make an effort to defend his power. His generals were ordered to make all preparations to resist the invaders; but scarcely had they collected their forces, when Antonius Primus, one of the leaders under Vespasian, entered Italy with an immense army. A bloody engagement took place near Cremona, in which the troops of Vitellius were defeated, with the loss of thirty thousand men.

Vitellius, himself, who remained at Rome, eating and drinking, and indulging every beastly appetite, was filled with indescribable terror on learning the success of his enemy. At first he desired to go and lay the ensigns of the empire at the feet of Vespasian, and was actually taking measures to do it, when an accidental word of encouragement from some one near his person, determined him to make another effort to save his throne. Further reinforcements were accordingly raised; but a large party in the city who were bold enough to declare in

Antonius sent against Vitellius—Civil wars—Success of Vespasian.

favor of Vespasian, seized upon the capital, and although unable to retain it, gave a serious check to the operations of Vitellius.

In the mean time, Antonius, who was advancing rapidly towards Rome, now appeared before the walls, and commenced a furious attack at three different points. The army within, sallying forth upon the besiegers, defended themselves with equal obstinacy. But, at last, the besiegers obtained an entrance within the walls, and a terrible slaughter commenced in all the streets. It is remarkable that, during these dreadful scenes of bloodshed, the people could not be prevented from celebrating one of their noisiest and most riotous feasts, called the Saturnalia. While, therefore, in one part of the city the two hostile armies were engaged in butchering one another, in other parts nothing was to be seen but mirth, feasting, and drunkenness.

During these extraordinary proceedings, Vitellius took refuge in a private house upon mount Aventine, whence he intended at night to make his escape from the city ; but, with his usual want of resolution, he returned to his palace, which was now empty and desolate. Wandering about from room to room, trembling lest he might encounter some one, he finally

Execution of Vitellius.

hid himself in an obscure corner, whence, however, he was soon taken by a party of the soldiers of Vespasian. With the most earnest entreaties he begged them to send him to prison, and spare his life, until Vespasian should arrive; but the soldiers, refusing to listen to his prayers, placed a halter about his neck, and dragged him along, half naked, to the public Forum. As he passed through the streets, every one loaded him with reproaches; some cast dirt and filth upon him; others struck him with their hands, and no one failed to make fun of the red face and prominent stomach which he had acquired by means of his excesses. Arriving at length at the place of public execution, they beat him to death; and then, fixing a hook into his body, dragged it in the most ignominious manner about the streets, and finally threw it in the Tiber.

Thus terminated the life of the glutton, Vitellius, in the fifty-seventh year of his age, after a short reign of less than nine months. As in the case of many of the emperors of Rome, no one was sorry to learn that he was dead.

VESPASIAN AND HIS SONS.

FROM 71 TO 96 A. D.

VESPASIAN emperor—Rebellion of the Jews—The war against them—Siege of Jerusalem—Obstinacy of the Jews—Their sufferings—Destruction of Jerusalem—Triumph of Titus and Vespasian—Liberality of Vespasian—His death—Accession of Titus—His character—Effects of his example—Sufferings in Italy—Death of Titus—His brother Domitian—Indolence and its fruits—Military aspirations of Domitian—His absurd expedition against the Sarmatians—His cruelty—His hatred of the Senate—Attempts to frighten them—Conspiracy—Assassination of Domitian.

V.

VESPASIAN AND HIS SONS.

Soon after the death of Vitellius, the Senate and army united in declaring Flavius Vespasian emperor. He was, however, at this time, in Egypt, whither messengers were immediately dispatched to urge him to return, at once, to Rome. But the season being very unfavorable for sailing, he deemed it more prudent to defer his voyage, and therefore remained several months in Alexandria, where, it is said, he performed miracles, in curing blind and lame men by touching them.

Vespasian was born in the country of the Sabines, about the close of the reign of Augustus ; but he did not attract any especial notice until the reign of Claudius, when he acquired great reputation in Germany and in Britain, on account of his military talents. In the beginning of the reign of Nero, he retired to private life,

Jewish rebellion—Vespasian goes to Rome.

but was, at length, appointed by that emperor, proconsul of Africa; and upon the breaking out of the Jewish rebellion, he was sent, as has been already said, with a large army into Judea, the whole of which, with the exception of Jerusalem, he succeeded in subduing.

This great and ancient city he was just upon the point of attacking, when the civil wars, which followed the death of Nero, occurred. The prosecution of this scheme was in various ways prevented, and, finally, he was obliged to intrust it to other hands, in order to comply with the wishes of the Roman people, who desired to place the empire in his hands. Intent, however, upon the thorough subjugation of the Jews, he would not set out for Rome, until he had made every arrangement for its accomplishment; and then, leaving to his son Titus the command of the army that was to besiege Jerusalem, he went back to Italy to occupy the vacant throne that there awaited him.

The news that he was on his way to Rome flew before him; and while he was yet many miles from the city, the Senate, accompanied by a great multitude of the inhabitants, came forth to meet him, sincerely rejoicing at the prospect of having an emperor whose virtues had been so thoroughly tested; and who, it is

gratifying to find, far from disappointing their expectations, devoted himself, with great success, to the promotion of their happiness and welfare.

Titus, in the mean time, continued the war against the Jews, with the utmost vigor. No part of their country, except Jerusalem, now remained unsubdued; and towards this place he marched his conquering army, halting within six furlongs of the outer walls.

The Jews, at this time, were not only obstinately rebellious against the Roman power, but they were engaged in a dreadful war among themselves. Heaven itself seemed, also, in verification of the prediction of our Saviour, to be directly engaged in accomplishing their destruction, by means of earthquakes, famine, and pestilence; and when Titus brought his army to their gates, the streets of the city were already flowing with the blood of its inhabitants. Neither of the contending factions hoping to gain any advantage by an alliance with the Roman leader, a temporary suspension of hostilities was agreed upon among themselves, and they united against the common enemy.

The first attack which they made was conducted with so much skill and fury, that the Romans were driven from the walls in the ut-

most confusion, and forced to take refuge in the mountains. It was not long, however, before Titus succeeded in rallying his forces and compelling the inmates of the city to re-enter their gates. Taking great care that his army should not be again surprised, he did every thing in his power to effect an entrance into the city. This was indeed a very difficult undertaking, as it was surrounded by three walls of great strength and thickness. The first of these was, however, battered down after an immense amount of labor, attended with much fatigue and danger. He then made the most favorable offers to the inhabitants, with repeated assurances of pardon, in case they would submit to his authority. But his proffered kindness was treated with contempt, and even regarded as an indication, on his part, of a want of confidence in his ultimate success. To show the inhabitants, however, that he was fully able to conduct his undertaking, he went vigorously to work; and within the space of five days thereafter, the second wall was laid in ruins, and the inhabitants were compelled to rely for safety on the third alone.

Again Titus urged the infatuated people to listen to his offers of peace, assuring them, that if they would not submit, he should lay their

city in the dust. Josephus, a Jewish commander, who had been taken prisoner, some time before, by Vespasian, and who afterwards wrote an account of the Jewish war, was then in the army of Titus, and was sent by him into the city, for the purpose of persuading the people to yield to the Roman power. But his eloquence was of no avail, and he was even forced to escape from the scoffs and reproaches with which he was assailed. Titus therefore commenced the work of battering down the last remaining wall. The engines used for this purpose were brought to bear upon it; but such was the desperation of the Jews, that nothing could be done, and the engines of Titus were destroyed as fast as they could be built.

The Roman general was not, however, to be driven from his enterprise; and, a consultation with his officers having been held, it was determined to surround the whole city with a trench, and thus cut off all succor from abroad. The work was accomplished with incredible celerity, and Titus, knowing that the city must eventually submit, sat down in expectation of a speedy acceptance of his repeated offers of peace. But he was destined to be disappointed; for, notwithstanding the horrid ravages of famine and pestilence within the walls; notwithstanding

the necessity, to which the people were driven, of eating the very filth in the street, and the rotten carcasses that floated in the sewers, they still refused to yield.

Finally, a report was brought to the ears of Titus, that a woman of distinction in the city had boiled her own child and eaten it. The dreadful story put the Roman general in such a transport of rage, that he declared that he would leave nothing undone in order to accomplish the destruction of a city that could tolerate such abominable crimes. To this end, large detachments of his soldiers were sent into the neighboring forests, and immense quantities of timber having been cut down, innumerable engines were constructed and brought to bear upon the walls. The Jews, though starving and dying, fought with the utmost desperation; in like manner fought the Romans, and the walls of the city finally yielded to the heavy strokes of the never ceasing rams. Then the soldiers of Titus, leaping upon the unprotected inhabitants, slaughtered, without mercy, all who fell in their way. Great numbers of these unfortunate beings fled to the temple, and to the fortified part of the city called Sion, while multitudes concealed themselves in vaults and subterraneous passages. Sion, however, soon

fell into the hands of the Romans, and the magnificent temple, held in such reverence by the people, was, contrary to the commands of Titus, finally, destroyed.

This dreadful sight filled the Jews with more terror than any thing that had yet occurred. Regarding themselves as utterly forsaken of God, they filled the air with their groans and lamentations, and yielded themselves, voluntarily, to the swords of their conquerors. The city, then, in verification of prophecy, was razed to the ground by the ploughshare, so that one stone was not found upon another; and thus, after a siege of six months, Jerusalem, which, under the peculiar care of Heaven, had flourished two thousand years, was totally destroyed. More than a million of its inhabitants perished by the sword and famine, and nearly a hundred thousand were carried away captive; the survivors were scattered over every portion of the earth, where their posterity remain, a monument of the wrath of Heaven, and of the truth of Revelation.

The greatest honors were paid to Titus on his return to Rome, loaded with the spoils of his recent victory. A magnificent temple was built to Peace, wherein these spoils were deposited; and, now that all the commotions

throughout the empire were at an end, the doors of the temple of Janus were once more closed. Titus became associated with his father, Vespasian, in the administration of public affairs, and both applied themselves to the correction of the innumerable abuses that had crept into the State during the preceding reigns. The licentiousness of the army was restrained, and the ancient discipline restored. Even senators and knights who had disgraced their stations, were degraded, and more worthy men appointed to fill their places. Vespasian turned his attention, also, to the beautifying of the city, erecting many fine edifices, among which was the Coliseum, whose ruins are visible at the present day. This immense amphitheatre, capable of containing one hundred and ten thousand persons, and deservedly ranked among the wonders of ancient times, was erected in the space of one year, by the compulsory labor of twelve hundred Jews and Christians.

Vespasian distinguished himself no less by his liberality in the encouragement of the arts and learning. A salary of a hundred thousand sesterces was constantly given by him to the teachers of rhetoric. Josephus, and other Jewish historians, experienced the greatest

kindness at his hands; and Quintilian, the orator, and Pliny, the naturalist, together with all the professors of the useful arts and sciences, shared largely of his bounty.

The public treasury was so completely exhausted when Vespasian came to the empire, that it was necessary to raise a sum equal to three hundred millions of pounds sterling, in order to meet the demands of government. The taxes, in consequence of this, were very heavy; but Vespasian expended nothing for his private gratification.

His care was not confined to the city of Rome. Everywhere throughout his extensive empire, attention was given to the wants of his people; and he was especially devoted to promoting the welfare of the people of Britain, most of whom, through the instrumentality of his generals, were now brought into subjection. With only one or two exceptions, was cruelty ever exercised in the punishment of those who offended against Vespasian; and when, after a reign of ten years, he was taken away by death, all the subjects of his great empire mourned for him as for a father. Perceiving his end to be drawing near, he exclaimed: "Methinks I am going to be a god!" and then declaring that an emperor should die standing, he raised

himself to his feet, and expired in the arms of those who stood around him.

The universal sorrow which followed the death of Vespasian, was succeeded by great rejoicings, on account of the accession to the throne, of his son Titus, who commenced and continued his reign in the practice of every virtue. While his father was living, he was not free from the charge of cruelty and prodigality; but, as soon as he himself began to reign, he shook off every vice, and became a model of moderation and humanity. All the loose and unprofitable companions whom he had around him were dismissed, and he applied himself so diligently to the promotion of the public good, that he acquired the appellation of the "Delight of Mankind;" a name which he seemed, ever afterwards, anxious to preserve.

Vespasian had labored assiduously for the welfare of Rome, but he omitted much that might have been done for the suppression of the abominable vices that had their origin in the licentiousness of preceding reigns. To the extermination of these, Titus applied an untiring hand; and all persons, consequently, whose conduct marked them out as unworthy members of society, were deprived of citizenship,

and, in many instances, they were publicly scourged, or sold as slaves. Nothing whatever that could promote the good of the State seemed to escape his attention, and while he was not engaged in doing good, he appeared to be unhappy. It is said that, having recollected, one night, that he had, during the day, done nothing for the benefit of mankind, he exclaimed to those around him: "Oh, my friends, I have lost a day!" In order that he might keep his hands unstained by the blood of his fellow-men, he took upon himself the office of High Priest, declaring that he would rather die himself than to put another to death.

It was during the reign of this excellent monarch that the dreadful eruption of Mount Vesuvius occurred, by which the cities of Pompeii and Herculaneum were destroyed, with a great multitude of human beings, among whom was the celebrated scholar and naturalist, Pliny, who fell a sacrifice to his devotion to the study of nature. A great fire, which continued three successive days and nights, also occurred about this time at Rome; and not long after this calamity, a terrible plague broke out, by which ten thousand persons perished in a single day. Titus did all in his power to relieve the suffering thus occasioned; and undertook, at his own

expense, to repair the loss resulting from the conflagration.

The excellent example given by Titus was not lost upon the governors of even the remotest provinces. Cneius Julius Agricola, who had been sent into Britain about the close of the reign of Vespasian, succeeded not only in bringing the whole of that large island into subjection to the Roman arms, but, also, in introducing among the people the polite manners of their conquerors. Temples, theatres, and stately houses were built by them, in accordance with his advice and example. The sons of their nobility were instructed in the liberal arts; and the language, modes of dress, and living of the Romans, were cultivated by them.

The reign of Titus was not, however, of long duration; and his death, which was probably occasioned by the treachery of his brother Domitian, who longed to occupy his place, occurred about three years after he ascended the throne, and in the forty-first year of his age. It is said that when he felt his end approaching, he declared that during the whole course of his life, he knew but one action of which he repented, and this was an action which he did not think proper to name. Not one of the rulers of Rome was more universally beloved,

or more sincerely lamented ; and certainly none of his predecessors had labored more faithfully and disinterestedly for the good of the commonwealth.

When Titus Flavius Sabinus Domitian claimed the throne, rendered vacant by the death of his brother, the people manifested no decided opposition, though they trembled, because, even in his youth, this younger son of Vespasian had rendered himself odious by his indolence and voluptuousness, as well as by his cruel and malignant disposition. In the beginning of his reign, indeed, he managed to deceive them ; and, for a while, they imagined, on account of his exhibitions of clemency, liberality, and justice, that he would prove to be another Titus. Many excellent laws were instituted through his instrumentality, and he appeared to be more merciful towards the unfortunate and the criminal, even, than the ordinary judges, whose harsh decisions he frequently reversed, after long and patiently reviewing them.

A course of conduct so utterly at variance with his inclinations, could not be, for any length of time, pursued ; and we accordingly find him, ere long, weary of the affairs of State, and occupied in devising means for gratifying

His natural indolence and its fruits.

his taste for mean pursuits. Unlike the noble father and brother who had preceded him, he found his highest enjoyment in such games and sports as should be indulged in only after the mind has been employed in painful labor. Thus, he began to devote all his time to archery, wrestling, and horsemanship; and, at last, in order that graver pursuits might not interfere with his favorite amusements, he banished all philosophers and mathematicians from Rome. The most expensive exhibitions were constantly given under his direction; and he, himself, adorned with a purple robe and crown, presided at them, and distributed prizes with his own hand. But the manner in which he beguiled the hours that he spent alone in his private chamber, is disgusting in the extreme. On these occasions, instead of applying his mind to some useful study, he would catch the harmless flies that crept about the wall, and, sticking pins through their bodies, amuse himself with the struggles which they made to escape his cruelty.

It was thus that, for a long time, he exhibited, only in petty cruelties, and ignoble pursuits, the baseness of his mind; but, finally, the odium with which the people began to regard him, together with their murmurs, served to

bring out all the malice of which he was capable. The first object of his malevolence was the excellent Agricola, whose talents, both as a general and a statesman, as exhibited in Britain, had won for him such great applause. Domitian, with a childish desire to earn a military reputation for himself, had, some time before, undertaken an expedition against the Catti, a people of Germany; but after marching, in the most warlike manner, towards their territory, he prudently determined to retrace his steps to Rome. Resolving, however, that he would not go home without the honor of a triumph, he purchased a number of slaves, and, dressing them in the German costume, carried them along as prisoners of war. At the head of this contemptible procession, he entered the city like a victorious general. Conscious, however, that he could not thus diminish the glory acquired by Agricola, who was now carrying his victorious arms over the islands in the neighborhood of Britain, he determined to remove him from his command, and, accordingly, summoned him to Rome, under pretence of appointing him to the government of Syria. Agricola obeyed the emperor's call; but, instead of receiving the government of Syria, he was obliged to retire to private life; and his death,

His absurd expedition against the Sarmatians.

which occurred very soon after, was doubtless accomplished under the direction of Domitian.

Not long after this event, some of the nomadic tribes, inhabiting the northern parts of Europe and Asia, and known as the Sarmatians, made a formidable invasion of the Roman empire, threatening the destruction of some of its important provinces. Indeed, they succeeded so well in their operations, that Domitian, fearful of the result, sent out his forces against them, well armed with an abundant supply of money. Peace was finally purchased of these barbarians, and the contemptible emperor, thinking this a good opportunity to seize upon a little military honor, resolved to have the pageant of a triumph. He accordingly entered Rome in the greatest splendor, claiming the conquest of a people, with whom he had never fought a single battle.

Becoming, daily, more and more desirous of applause, he finally grew dissatisfied with every thing that fell short of the veneration paid to the gods themselves. The titles given to the deities, he, at last, assumed; and no statues were permitted to be erected to his honor, unless they were of gold or silver. But even these absurdities might have been endured, had

he not, with them, exhibited the most unmitigated cruelty. Indeed, the sentence of death proceeded from his lips with as little hesitation as the most ordinary command; and a large number of illustrious senators perished at his bidding, upon the most trifling pretences. One was condemned to die for jesting; another because he was an admirer of the emperor Otho; another, for having given his own name to a new lance which he had invented; and another for having published a book in which he praised two distinguished philosophers.

This dreadful cruelty of Domitian was very much augmented by the accidental defeat of a plan formed by Lucius Antonius, Governor of Upper Germany, to take possession of the throne. Marching towards Rome, the formidable army of Antonius was suddenly divided by an overflowing of the Rhine. Attacked at this juncture by the forces of the emperor which were sent out against him, he was totally routed, and forced to abandon his ambitious project. From this moment, Domitian seemed to be suspicious of all around him; and nothing could exceed the cruelty of the tortures which he inflicted upon those whom he chose to accuse of treason. Some, he deprived of their limbs, others, he pierced with red-hot irons; while multitudes,

His attempt to frighten the Senate.

were crucified, burned, and otherwise destroyed, to gratify his fiendish passions.

His hostility to the Senate and nobility was scarcely kept within bounds ; and on several occasions he threatened to extirpate them all. At one time, he put them in the utmost consternation by surrounding the senate-house with a large body of his troops. At another time, he invited them to partake of a great banquet at his palace ; and receiving each with the greatest politeness, as, one by one, they entered, he caused them to be conducted to a spacious apartment, hung round with black, and lighted by a few melancholy tapers. Along the sides of this dismal room were arranged all sorts of instruments of torture and execution ; and close by them, were gloomy rows of coffins, each with a senator's name inscribed upon it. While the terrified nobles were gazing in silence upon these symbols of violence and death, a door suddenly opened at one side of the chamber, and through it entered, slowly, a hideous company of men, each with a drawn sword in one hand, and a flaming torch in the other. Surrounding the horror-stricken senators, these terrible looking creatures began a most frightful dance, accompanied with unearthly grimaces, and the flourishing of their swords and torches.

Domitian, from a private corner, watched this outrageous violation of all decency ; and, when he had sufficiently enjoyed it, sent a servant into the room to inform the half-dead company that the emperor gave them leave to retire to their homes. But such detestable trifling, added to cruelties more real and inexcusable, could not be practised with impunity ; and, conscious that this must be the case, he began at length to feel some anxiety for his own safety. With a view, therefore, to save himself from sudden surprise, he kept more closely within his palace, and even ordered the gallery in which he walked to be set around with a pellucid stone, which served as a mirror to reflect the persons of all who approached him from behind.

But great and costly as were these precautions, they were rendered unavailing, by his want of prudence in placing the name of his wife in the written list of proscribed persons, which he was in the habit of carrying in his tablets. This woman, it seems, had for some, perhaps very good, reason, incurred his anger, and, determining to punish her, he had enrolled her name among those destined for destruction. Happening, one day, to get possession of this list, she was terrified at finding her name among

the victims to his cruelty. She showed it to the præfects of the Prætorian bands, also to Stephanus, the comptroller of the household, and to Parthenius, the chief chamberlain, all of whom were upon the fatal catalogue. A conspiracy was, of course, the result, and a day was fixed upon for dispatching the cruel tyrant.

Upon this appointed day, as Domitian was making preparations to go to the bath, a messenger informed him that Stephanus desired to consult him upon an affair of great importance. His attendants were consequently dismissed, and Stephanus entered, with his hand in a scarf, which he had worn for several days, under pretence that it was injured, but really that he might better conceal a dagger. He began his business by giving the emperor an account of a pretended conspiracy, the particulars of which were specified in a paper which he presented to him. Domitian seizing it with eagerness began to read; but he had scarcely finished the first sentence, when Stephanus drew his dagger and struck him in the groin. The wound not being mortal, a struggle immediately ensued. The tumult was overheard by some of the followers of Stephanus, who stood without the door. They rushed, at once, to the assistance of their master, and the emperor was

Death of Stephanus.

dispatched with seven wounds; but Stephanus was also slain by some of the officers of the guard, who came to the rescue of the monarch. Thus ended the life of this infamous tyrant, after a reign of fifteen years, and at the age of forty-five.

EXTENSION OF THE EMPIRE.

FROM 96 TO 139 A. D.

THE brief reign of Nerva—Early training of Trajan—His accession to the throne—Plutarch—First works of Trajan—His respect for the laws—His military spirit—Conquest of the Dacians—The bridge over the Danube—Prosperity of the empire—Persecution of the Christians—Extension of the Roman power—Splendid victories—Death of Trajan—His obsequies—Trajan's column—Character of Hadrian—His elevation to the throne—His kindness and love of peace—He abandons the conquests of Trajan—His famous journey—His labors in Germany and Britain—His visit to Athens and Carthage—His favorite, Antinous—Rebuilding of Jerusalem—Hadrian's return to Rome—His acquirements—His suffering near the close of life—His death.

VI.

EXTENSION OF THE EMPIRE.

Nothing could exceed the joy that prevailed throughout the city of Rome, when it was publicly known that the infamous Domitian was no more. The senators, especially, whom he had so constantly held in terror, congratulated one another upon his death, as one of the happiest events in the history of the empire; and, as soon as they could be convened, a decree was passed that no funeral obsequies should be paid to him, and that all his inscriptions should be erased. At the same time, they declared Cocceius Nerva emperor; and, without delay, proceeded to his house to render to him the customary homage.

This choice was exceedingly fortunate, not so much on account of any peculiar qualifications possessed by Nerva for this responsible position, but because, through his instrumentality, Rome obtained, as his successors, two of

The emperor Nerva.

the noblest of her emperors—Trajan and Hadrian.

Nerva, himself, was a very excellent man, though not possessed of the energy and talents necessary to the ruler of so vast an empire. His exaltation was, indeed, due solely to the blameless conduct of his life; and, even if he had been distinguished as a statesman, or a soldier, he was now too far advanced in life, being sixty-two years old, to labor efficiently against the evils that had crept into the State during the unfortunate reign of Domitian.

The short period, during which he occupied the throne, was devoted to the welfare of his subjects, who very soon began to look upon him as an indulgent father. The vicious were, of course, displeased at his efforts to promote order and virtue; but the greatest annoyance which he experienced, was from the Prætorian bands, who insisted upon revenging the death of the late emperor, whose frequent liberalities had endeared him to them. Nerva did all in his power to put a stop to this insurrection; he even presented himself to the furious soldiers, and, uncovering his bosom, bade them strike him rather than commit so unjust an act. They refused, however, to listen to his remonstrances; and seizing upon those who had been accessory

His excellent, though brief, reign.

to the death of Domitian, slew them in a most barbarous manner. But not contented even with this, they forced the emperor to give an approval of their acts, and to make a speech justifying them before the people.

It was in a great measure owing to this circumstance, that Nerva determined to associate some one with him in the administration of the affairs of State. He felt the necessity of a stronger arm than his own to keep the licentious in awe, and to oppose those who were obstinately bent upon evil. With true devotion to the welfare of the empire, he sought diligently for some one competent to aid him; and, fortunately, his choice was Ulpian Trajan, then governor of Upper Germany, and a person in no way connected with his family. This was one of the last and happiest acts of Nerva. A short time afterwards, he was seized with a fever, which carried him off, amid the lamentations of the people, after a reign of sixteen months.

The famous Trajan, who is generally accounted the greatest and best of the Roman emperors, was a native of Seville, in Spain, although his family was originally from Italy. His father was a brave Roman general, who distinguished himself in several expeditions

which he conducted along the Euphrates and the Rhine; and Trajan, though a lad, accompanied him in some of these expeditions, marching frequently on foot, and sharing, like any common soldier, the dangers and fatigue incident to military life.

With such an early training, it is easy to believe that Trajan would be rendered fully competent to oppose the torrent of public disorders which had so largely swollen under the long tyranny of former emperors. In nowise vain of superior position, he preserved the manners and living of a soldier, and spurned every thing like homage, when he was elevated to the rank of general of the army in Lower Germany. Even when, upon the death of Nerva, he was requested by the Senate to repair to Rome and receive the crown, he changed in nothing his conduct or appearance, but treated every one as if he were a simple tribune. Nor was his march towards the city, upon this occasion, attended with any exhibition of pride or power. At the head of a very large army he proceeded from Germany towards Rome, with a discipline to which the legions of the empire had, for a long time, been strangers; and the countries through which he passed were not in the least disturbed by any improprieties on the part of

his numerous followers. Reaching the gates of the city, he did not demand a triumphal entrance, but, on the other hand, chose to go in on foot, attended by the officers of the State, and followed by his soldiers, who passed silently to their quarters.

The celebrated Plutarch, whose *Lives* of illustrious Greek and Roman personages are familiar to every student of history, was, at this time, a resident of Rome. A Greek by birth, he had long resided here as a teacher of philosophy; and Trajan, whose early life had been spent in arms, became, at a late period, it is said, one of his pupils. The following extract from a letter, written by this great philosopher to him, on his accession to the throne, will serve to show the high estimation in which this famous monarch was held by those who knew him best:

“I am sensible,” said Plutarch to him, “that you sought not the empire. Your natural modesty would not suffer you to apply for a distinction, to which you were always entitled by the excellence of your manners. That modesty makes you, however, still more worthy of those honors, which you had no ambition to solicit. Should your future government prove, in any degree, answerable to your former merit, I shall

The first works of Trajan—His great respect for the laws.

have reason to congratulate both your virtue and my good fortune on this event.”

Trajan was forty-two years of age when he ascended the throne; and, possessing a fine personal appearance, together with a great military reputation, he succeeded more easily in curbing the insolence of the Prætorian guards, as well as that of other disaffected parties in the State. Having taken measures to supply certain wants of the city, which demanded his immediate attention, he proceeded to banish such persons as exerted a pernicious influence by their lives or conversation. He then undertook to reduce some of the most odious of the taxes, which had been imposed upon the people by his predecessors. Afterwards he gave his attention to the laws, abolishing such as were unjust, and enacting others that were desirable. Nor did the fact escape his notice, that many of the most important offices of the government were occupied by persons very unsuitable, by reason of their want of talent and integrity. These he displaced as rapidly as he could prove them, appointing others in their stead. Upon one occasion, as he was performing the ceremony of giving the sword to the præfect of the Prætorian guard, he said to him: “Take this sword, and use it, if I have merit,

for me; if otherwise, against me." Immediately afterwards he took the opportunity to address those present in regard to the reforms in which he had been occupied, and, at the conclusion, declared that "he who made laws was the first who was bound to preserve them."

Indeed no one evinced, by his example, a greater desire to preserve the laws than he himself; and if there was any thing in his character at all exceptionable, it was his immoderate passion for war, a business to which he had been trained from boyhood. For the profession of arms he seems to have possessed a talent that has been seldom equalled; but it may be said that he seldom exercised it, unless there was, apparently, a just and sufficient cause. The Dacians were the first, after his accession to the throne, to feel the power of his arms. These people, who occupied a large region of country southeast of Germany, under Decebalus, their king, had given the predecessors of Trajan a great deal of trouble. It had been found impossible to conquer them, and therefore a large tribute had been yearly paid, in order to restrain their constant incursions upon the Roman territory. Trajan, however, refusing to pay the tribute which had been exacted from his predecessors, found his dominions

Contest with the Dacians.

invaded by numberless hordes of these barbarians, who carried desolation wherever they went. He accordingly raised a powerful army, and attacked them upon their own soil. At first he met with a vigorous opposition; but, finally, constraining them to come to a general engagement, he routed their armies, with a terrible slaughter.

The loss sustained by the Romans, on this occasion, was very great. Trajan, himself, not only displayed the utmost activity during the contest, but, when it was over, he gave his personal attention to those who had been injured, tearing the linen clothing, even, from his own body to dress their wounds. The Dacian monarch sued for peace, and, entering the camp of Trajan, paid his homage as a vassal of Rome. But Trajan had scarcely returned with his victorious army, when the treacherous Dacians, renewing their hostilities, forced him again to march against them. Decebalus had, by this time, learned how to engage with the Roman troops; and, by means of various devices, he contrived to protract the war. Trajan determined, however, that he would subdue him, and, in order to be better able to invade his territory, undertook the stupendous work of building a bridge across the Danube. This

prodigious structure, consisting of twenty-two arches, a hundred and fifty feet high, and a hundred and seventy broad, has been regarded as one of the greatest works of antiquity. It proved to be of eminent service to the Roman army, and, on its completion, the war was conducted with so much vigor, that the country, although very spacious, and filled with brave and hardy inhabitants, was finally subdued. Decebalus made every effort to escape, but finding it impossible, he slew himself, and his head was sent at once to Rome as a trophy of success.

By these conquests, the whole of the vast territory of Dacia was annexed to the Roman empire. Trajan's fame spread to the most distant regions, and Rome enjoyed a degree of splendor greater than she had hitherto attained. Ambassadors now came hither from the remotest parts of India to congratulate the emperor, and to crave his friendship. The rejoicings in the city, on account of these victories, were of the most extraordinary character, and continued for the space of a hundred and twenty days.

Although a man of great prudence, and not easily deceived, Trajan suffered himself to be misled by the reports which were brought to him concerning the Christians. Being warned

Persecution of the Christians—Extension of the Roman power.

that they were laboring zealously to overthrow the religion of the empire, his extreme veneration for the gods induced him to use every means to weaken and discourage them. A law was already in existence, by which all societies dissenting from the established religion of the State, were declared illegal. This law was now permitted to be enforced, and under it, the Christians were persecuted in every portion of the empire. Among the large numbers that were put to death, was St. Clemens, bishop of Rome, who was thrown into the sea; also, St. Simeon, bishop of Jerusalem, who, at the age of a hundred and twenty, was scourged and crucified; likewise St. Ignatius, who was thrown to wild beasts, in the amphitheatre at Rome.

But these cruel persecutions were immediately terminated when the emperor was made acquainted by Pliny, the proconsul of Bithynia, with the true character of the Christians, and their inoffensive and moral way of living.

For a long time, the empire had now been comparatively undisturbed by war, but, finally, the Parthians and Arminians attempting to throw off all constraint, Trajan again took up arms, and did not quit them, until he had achieved a series of victories which stretched the Roman

power even to the Indies. First punishing the Armenians for their rebellion, and then reducing the wealthy kingdom of Mesopotamia into the form of a Roman province, he marched into Syria and Chaldea, conquering these countries, and even taking the famous city of Babylon. Crossing, at this point, the river Euphrates, he pursued the route once taken by Alexander the Great, and, at the head of his victorious legions, traversed vast regions which had never before been visited by Roman arms. Nothing whatever was sufficient to diminish the ardor with which he had commenced his journey; and, as he proceeded, province after province was added to the empire. He passed over the river Tigris, and opening a way for himself in Persia, gained many, and very splendid, victories. Then sailing down the Persian Gulf, he entered the Indian Ocean, and was making conquest after conquest in this distant region, when he was informed of the revolt of some of the provinces which he had already subdued. Sending, therefore, to the Senate a list of the nations which he had already conquered, he returned along the Persian Gulf, for the purpose of punishing the countries that had revolted from him. He not only succeeded in retaking those places that had formerly submitted to him, but also

made himself master of all the most fertile kingdoms of Asia.

It is said that in the achievement of this long series of conquests, he never met with a repulse except before the city of Atræ in the desert of Arabia; soon after which he concluded to give masters to the countries that he had subdued, and then repair to Rome. Going with this design to the city of Ctesiphon in Persia, he crowned Parthaspates king of Parthia. He also gave a king to the province of Albania, and placed governors and lieutenants in other provinces. Then appointing Publius Ælius Hadrian general of the forces in the East, he set out for Rome. But he had not proceeded farther than Selinus in Cilicia, when he was taken sick and died, at the age of sixty-three, after a reign of nearly twenty years.

The news of this sad event caused the most profound sorrow in Rome; and a general desire was at once manifested to do something honorable to the memory of their excellent and wise monarch. A similar desire was also felt by Hadrian, the successor to the empire. This new emperor, who, at the time of his accession, was in command of the forces in the East, sent the ashes of Trajan to Rome, and repaired thither, also, with as little delay as possible. A

triumph having been offered to him on his arrival, he modestly declined it, preferring, as he knew would be more agreeable to the people, that these honors should be paid to the deceased Trajan. Accordingly, the most magnificent preparations were made, to which Hadrian contributed every thing in his power. The statue of Trajan was carried in the procession, an honor, never before conferred upon the dead ; and his ashes, inclosed in a golden urn, were placed on the top of a marble column, a hundred and thirty-two feet in height. This column tells, even at the present day, the story of his military exploits, and for the elegance of its proportion, beauty of style, and simplicity and dexterity of sculpture, is regarded as the finest in the world.

Hadrian, the successor of Trajan, was by birth a Spaniard, and the nephew of his predecessor. He was a man of vast and active genius, intimately acquainted with the Latin and Greek languages, the laws of his country, and the philosophy of the times ; but he was extravagant, inconstant, capricious, and vain. Although intrusted with the command of the forces in the East, he was not esteemed by Trajan as the most suitable person to be placed at the head of the empire, and this prudent monarch

His elevation to the throne.

accordingly hesitated in naming him for the succession. But during the last illness of Trajan, the empress Plotina contrived, either to fix his resolution, or to forge a will by which Hadrian was nominated his successor. With such varied endowments, and such well-known skill in all the exercises of body and mind, together with considerable military reputation, he had no difficulty in ascending the throne. The army, all the soldiers of which, it is said, he could call by name, accepted him with acclamations; and the Senate to whom he was known as an accomplished orator, a forcible writer, a profound mathematician, and a skilful general, cheerfully united in giving him the empire.

Upon the elevation of Hadrian to the throne, he remitted a very great number of debts due from different individuals and provinces to the treasury. He, also, raised himself very much in general estimation by giving the estates of condemned persons to the public, instead of appropriating them to himself. His veneration for the Senate was very great; and every thing in his power was done, to promote the dignity and purity of this important body. Such was his care to prevent all unworthy men from being introduced into it, that he told a captain of his guard, on creating him a senator, that he

had no honors in his gift equal to what he then accorded.

The greatest praise was bestowed upon Hadrian for his moderation and clemency, which were exhibited on numberless occasions, especially towards those who had injured him when he was a private man. Meeting a person, one day, who had been his inveterate enemy, he exclaimed: "My good friend, you have escaped, for I am now emperor!" His manner towards all was very kind, especially towards those of meaner stations. No one who was needy, failed to obtain his assistance; and the sick often saw him in their chambers. "I am emperor," said he, "not for my own good, but for the benefit of mankind."

Although he pursued a course very different from that of his predecessor, he seems to have been governed by sound sense and distinguished wisdom. The arts of peace were far more agreeable to him than those of war, and thus he suffered much of the territory acquired by the conquests of Trajan to be lost to the empire. The regions beyond the Euphrates he regarded as of little value, and making that river the boundary of the empire, he placed his legions along its banks to prevent the incursions of the enemy. The Alani, the Sarmatians,

The conquests of Trajan abandoned.

and the Dacians beginning, soon after he ascended the throne, to be very troublesome by their numerous incursions, he was desirous of contracting, still more, the boundaries of his dominions; but being dissuaded by his friends, he finally satisfied himself by breaking down the bridge which Trajan had built over the Danube, concluding, with much good sense, that the passage which was open to him, was equally advantageous to his barbarian enemies.

There were those who, attributing the peaceful disposition of Hadrian to cowardice, would have done any thing to deliver the empire from a ruler who was diminishing its glory and impairing its power. Indeed, a very dangerous conspiracy was formed against his life by four persons of consular dignity; but their designs were discovered, and they were all put to death by order of the Senate. An act so inconsistent with the great moderation which he always displayed, occasioned much murmuring on the part of the people. Hadrian, therefore, took the utmost pains to rid himself of the imputation of having been concerned in the execution of these men, who had always been regarded as among the most worthy in the empire; and to divert attention from the matter, he soon after caused a number of most magnificent exhi-

bitions to be held in the amphitheatre for the entertainment of the people.

During the fourth year of his reign he began the famous journey through all the provinces of his empire, which he is said to have performed on foot and with his head uncovered. It was undertaken in pursuance of one of his maxims, that an emperor ought to imitate the sun, which diffuses warmth and vigor over all the parts of the earth. In imitation, also, of the sun, he determined that his career should be as brilliant as possible, and, accordingly, set out with a very splendid court, and numerous force in attendance on him.

The first province which he visited was Gaul, where he halted for a length of time sufficient to take a complete census of the people. Thence he passed into Germany and Holland, travelling slowly, noting every thing worthy of observation, and giving such directions as he thought might improve the welfare of the inhabitants and promote the interests of the empire. From these countries he went to Britain, a land in which some of his predecessors had acquired so much glory, and where he was also desirous of leaving a name. Here he rested a considerable period, for the purpose of reforming a multitude of abuses, as well as for under-

taking to reconcile the natives to the power of Rome. Finding that the southern parts of the province were very much harassed by the incursions of the Picts, and other barbarous nations of the north, he caused these intruders to be shut off by a wall of wood and earth extending from the river Eden in Cumberland, to the Tyne in Northumberland.

Having accomplished all that he could in Britain, he returned to Gaul, and, passing through this country, went to Spain, where he was received with great joy, as being a native of that country. Selecting the city of Terra-gona as his resting-place, he there called a meeting of the deputies from all the provinces, and devised many things for the benefit of the nation. Having passed the winter in this country, he returned to Rome, for the purpose of making preparations to pursue his journey in the East. After arriving in Asia Minor, he was induced to turn aside and make a visit to Athens, where he remained for a considerable length of time, taking upon himself the office of archon or chief magistrate of the place. Here he was initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries, held among the most sacred in the Pagan mythology. At the suggestion of Gratianus, the proconsul of Asia, he remitted, during his

His visit to Athens and Carthage—His favorite, Antinous.

residence here, the persecution of the Christians, and even thought of receiving Christ among the number of the gods.

Passing from Athens to Sicily, he visited Mount *Ætna*, and thence returned, once more, to Rome, where he, however, stayed only long enough to prepare ships to convey him to the coast of Africa. Here he remained a great length of time, engaged in reforming the government, and in erecting the most magnificent buildings. The famous city of Carthage, which had so long been in ruins, he ordered to be rebuilt, calling it after his own name, *Hadrianople*.

Revisiting Rome, Hadrian, in a very short time, undertook a second journey to Greece, whence he passed over into Asia Minor, and thence into Syria, Palestine, Arabia, and Egypt. It was during this journey that he lost his favorite, Antinous, a young Bithynian, who had accompanied him during his travels. The young man was drowned in the Nile, but whether by accident, or otherwise, cannot be known. Hadrian was inconsolable on account of his loss; and, not satisfied with giving his name to a newly-discovered star, he built temples in his honor, and caused him to be worshipped as a god. His image was represented by the arts

Rebuilding of Jerusalem.

in every way; and some of these figures belong to the finest remains of antiquity, especially the statue, now in the Vatican, called the Antinous of Belvidere.

The tomb of Pompey, which he found at this time to be in a ruined condition, was ordered to be rebuilt by him. He also gave directions for the rebuilding of Jerusalem, a task which was readily undertaken by the Jews, who now began to hope that they were about to be restored to their long-lost kingdom. But not satisfied with the benefits which Hadrian had conferred upon them, and angry on account of the privileges granted to Pagan worshippers in their new city, they fell upon all the Romans and Christians in Judea, and put them, unmercifully, to the sword. Hadrian, who was in Athens at the time, hearing of this base return of his kindness, was so incensed that he sent a powerful army against the Jews, destroying nearly six hundred thousand, and banishing the rest, with orders that they should never again come within view of their native land.

At length the emperor, after spending about thirteen years in travelling over his dominions, resolved to return and end his days in Rome. The news of his intention was carried to the city, where it was received with every demon-

His joyful reception at Rome—The great acquirements of Hadrian.

stration of joy, for Hadrian had endeared himself to his people in a thousand different ways. All his subjects, then, united in giving him a hearty welcome home; and he came back to them somewhat older and more feeble, but with unabated zeal for their happiness and prosperity. With the greatest assiduity, he now applied himself to the correction of whatever abuses had crept into the government during his protracted journey; he caused also the enactment of various useful and just laws. The privilege hitherto granted to masters, of killing their own slaves, was very wisely taken from them; and slaves who were accused of misconduct, were allowed to be tried in an equitable manner.

Hadrian was very fond of displaying his numerous acquirements, and seemed ever ready to engage in conversation, upon any topic, with those around him. Such was his ambition to excel in knowledge of the arts and sciences, that he was envious of all those who acquired any considerable reputation therein; and it is asserted that he allowed his jealousy, on some occasions, to render him unjust and even cruel. Apollodorus, the famous architect, who built Trajan's great bridge over the Danube, is said to have lost his life in consequence of some

His sufferings near the close of life.

severe criticisms upon an edifice constructed after Hadrian's designs. According to some accounts, it became, at length, a dangerous thing to dispute with him, even upon philosophic subjects. Favorinus, a philosopher of great reputation, engaging one day in a discussion with him, was wise enough to allow himself to be vanquished. Some of his friends blaming him for so doing, he replied: "How, would you have me contend with a man who is master of thirty legions?"

Age and bodily infirmities began now to warn Hadrian that the time was at hand when he must lay aside, forever, the cares of empire. Determining, therefore, to adopt some one as his heir and successor, he fixed upon Titus Marcus Antoninus, one of the four persons of consular rank among whom he had divided the administration of the affairs of Italy. This adoption was, however, on condition that Antoninus should, in his turn, adopt Lucius Verus, and Marcus Aurelius, both of whom subsequently ascended the throne. In the mean time, he became more and more feeble, and, finally, fell into a state of suffering, in which life grew quite insupportable. Occasionally his pains were such, that he begged those who were in attendance to dispatch him with the

His death.

sword. But Antoninus was always at hand to prevent any thing of this kind; and, moreover, did all in his power to reconcile the emperor to his lot, as well as to make it as supportable for him as was possible. It was, perhaps, at the recommendation of Antoninus that he went to Baïæ, in the hope that a change of air and scene might benefit him. This, however, proved of no avail, and the suffering monarch determined, at last, to refuse every means offered to alleviate his pains, or to protract his life, saying, "that kings died merely by the multitude of their physicians." Under such circumstances, death probably came sooner to his relief; and, finally, in the sixty-second year of his age, and in the twenty-second of his reign, he expired, dictating the celebrated stanzas, of which Pope has made the following translation :

"Oh, fleeting spirit, wandering fire,
That long has warmed my tender breast,
Wilt thou no more my frame inspire?
No more a pleasing, cheerful guest?
Whither, ah! whither art thou flying?
To what dark, undiscover'd shore?
Thou seem'st all trembling, shivering, dying,
And wit and humor are no more."

THE ANTONINES.

FROM 139 TO 181, A. D.

CHARACTER of the Emperor Antoninus Pius—His patronage of learning—Apollonius—Death of Antoninus—Two emperors succeed him—Invasion of the barbarians—Venus sent against them—His shameful conduct—Sufferings of the empire—Relief afforded by Aurelius—Death of Venus—Overthrow of the barbarians—Further invasions—A remarkable battle—Miraculous deliverance of the Romans—Conspiracy of Avidius Cassius—Journey of Aurelius into the East—His devotion to philosophy—His expedition against the Scythians—Sickness of Aurelius—His anxiety for Commodus—His death.

VII.

THE ANTONINES.

TITUS MARCUS ANTONINUS, the successor of Hadrian, was one of that very small number of men, who, by a proper use of power, render themselves benefactors of their kind. With very great propriety, he has been denominated a second Numa. Indeed, his love of justice, religion, and peace, induced the Roman Senate to confer upon him the surname of *Pius*. And it is, perhaps, not a little to his praise, that although his reign continued for a space of twenty-two years, it furnishes very few materials for history, which has been justly called a register of the crimes, follies, and misfortunes of mankind.

At the time of his accession to the empire, Antoninus had arrived at the age of fifty years, having already discharged, with great zeal and integrity, some of the most important offices of

the State. He began, at once, to ascertain wherein he could propose any thing which might promote the welfare of the empire; and, from the first moment, he labored with assiduity to this end. Many unworthy persons were removed by him from office; burdensome taxes were moderated or abolished, and the wants of the needy, in many cases, relieved at the sacrifice of his own private fortune. In this manner, as well as by his great dislike of all personal display, he gained the esteem not only of the citizens of Rome, but of the whole empire. Ambassadors came to him from the remotest regions, to solicit his friendship and alliance; and, in some instances, he was desired by them to appoint kings for their respective countries.

The Christians, who in previous reigns had been greatly persecuted, he treated with the utmost kindness. They were not only allowed to practise their religion, but Antoninus declared that whoever disturbed them simply on account of their faith, should be punished with great severity.

Antoninus had very little taste for war; and when his subjects attempted to inspire him with a desire for military glory, he replied: "I had rather preserve the life of a single citizen, than destroy a thousand enemies." Notwithstanding

His patronage of learning—Apollonius.

this, he suppressed with great promptness the insurrections which happened during his reign in Britain, in Dacia, and in Germany. In order to prevent the incursions of the barbarians in the former country, he dug a deep trench from twelve to fourteen feet wide, and built a high wall across the isthmus between the Forth and the Clyde.

Learned men were sure to secure his patronage. He invited them from the remotest countries, for the purpose of conferring wealth and honor upon them. Among those who thus came to Rome at his invitation, was Apollonius, a famous stoic philosopher, whom he designed as an instructor for his adopted son, Marcus Aurelius. It is said that this philosopher, on his arrival, having been sent for by the emperor, replied, in an arrogant manner, that it was a scholar's duty to wait upon the master, and not the master's duty to wait upon the scholar. Antoninus, smiling only at this ridiculous display of vanity, sent Marcus Aurelius to him.

Not the least of the numberless things, so admirable in Antoninus, was the pains which he took to render Marcus Aurelius worthy to succeed him in the empire; and, truly, Marcus Aurelius was, in all respects, worthy to be the adopted son of this excellent monarch. At a

Death of Antoninus—Two emperors succeed him.

very early age he devoted himself to the severest study, and to the practice of every virtue. It is said, indeed, that during the whole reign of his adopted father, which continued twenty-three years, he was absent from the palace only two nights, and even these were not in succession.

When Antoninus, at the age of seventy-five, found that the hand of death was upon him, he convened his friends and principal officers around his death-bed, and in their presence confirmed the adoption of Marcus Aurelius, without mentioning Lucius Verus, whom Hadrian had desired him to adopt also. But when Marcus Aurelius, who could not be guilty of an act that had the least appearance of injustice, found himself in possession of the empire, he admitted Verus as his associate and equal; and thus Rome, for the first time, found itself under the government of two sovereigns, of equal authority, but of very different merit and pretensions.

The lamentation for the loss of Antoninus extended over the whole empire. Marcus Aurelius pronounced his funeral oration. The Senate erected a pillar to his memory, which is still standing, and known as the *Antonine Column*. His successors assumed his name in

honor of him ; and he was spoken of, as being almost the only monarch that had lived without spilling the blood of his countrymen or of his enemies.

The two emperors, Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, then ascended the throne together, and reigned conjointly during a space of nine years, with far more harmony than might have been expected from two persons of such opposite characters. But they had scarcely begun to administer the affairs of government, when the empire was attacked on all sides by the barbarous nations that surrounded it. Germany was invaded by the renowned and valiant Catti who had been such successful opponents of Julius Caesar, and who now ravaged all before them, with fire and sword. The Britons, also, revolted against the Roman authority ; and the Parthians, under their king, Vologesus, made an irruption more dreadful than any that they had before undertaken, destroying the Roman legions in Armenia, and driving the Roman governor from Syria.

Such a state of things was well calculated to test the abilities of the new emperors of Rome. Together they devised plans for subduing their enemies and reducing their revolted provinces to submission. It was agreed between them

Verus sent to oppose them.

that Aurelius should remain at home to administer justice, and correct such faults as might exist in the laws and policy of the State, and that Verus, furnished with the ablest assistants, should take the field in person.

According to this arrangement, Verus went, supported by the best advice from the judicious Aurelius, as well as by the most experienced generals, and most valiant troops. But Verus himself performed a very insignificant part in the victories which were achieved at this time by the Roman arms. Intent, alone, upon his own pleasures, he resolved to intrust the conduct of this great expedition to his generals; and, accordingly, when he reached Antioch in Syria, he buried himself in one of its beautiful suburbs, called Daphne, where he rioted in excesses, unknown even to the voluptuous Greeks. The army was abandoned by him, and the object of his journey to this remote portion of his empire was totally forgotten. His generals, however, leaving him plunged in every kind of debauchery, went forward and fought the battles of the empire with all success. Babylon, Ctesiphon, and many other powerful cities, were plundered and destroyed, and, in the course of four years, during which the war continued, the Romans ran over nearly

all the country of Parthia, and thoroughly subdued it.

But Verus, who had, all this time, passed a life of indolence and pleasure, determined, now, to usurp the honors which had been so hardly earned by others. Appointing, therefore, suitable persons to take care of the conquests recently obtained, and taking upon himself the titles of Armenicus and Parthicus, he returned to Rome in the greatest pomp and splendor.

The excellent Aurelius was not ignorant of the shameful conduct of Verus ; and, mortified with the accounts that were daily brought of his excesses, he did every thing that was possible to reclaim his colleague ; and when apprised that he was about to return with his victorious army, he ordered the most magnificent preparations for his reception. But the return of Verus was a terrible thing for the empire. His soldiers brought the plague from Parthia, and spread it over all the provinces through which they passed. Their route was, of course, marked by the most dreadful scenes of wretchedness and death ; but Verus, insensible alike to humanity and shame, pursued his desolating march, attentive only to the preservation of his own life and the promotion of his own pleasures.

But the raging pestilence, spread over the

Terrible sufferings of the empire—Aurelius relieves the empire.

empire by the reckless Verus, was not the only cause of terror and destruction. Earthquakes, famines, and inundations, such as had never before been known, took place; myriads of locusts filled the air and devoured the productions of the land; and, besides all this, the barbarous nations surrounding the empire, taking advantage of these terrible calamities, carried their devastations even into the midst of Italy. To crown the whole, this deplorable state of things was attributed by the pagan priests to the inoffensive Christians, who, in consequence, were cruelly put to death in every part of the empire. During this terrible time, it was, that Justin Martyr, and Polycarp, and a host of other excellent men, were burned to death or crucified.

To be the faithful ruler and father of a nation under such adverse circumstances was not an enviable lot; and the efforts of Aurelius to perform his duty during this trying season, even if they had proved less successful, were enough to confer upon him immortal glory. Using, in the promptest manner, every means to stay the awful pestilence, and providing as well as he could for those who were famishing for food, he collected, with the least delay, the forces of the empire, and dragging Verus from the sensual

delights of Rome, into which he had plunged himself, marched at the head of his legions to drive away the fierce barbarians who had come to profit by the miseries of his subjects. Not content with chasing their vast armies from the soil of Italy, he even pursued them beyond the Alps; and then returned to Rome with a loss of men so small, as to be almost incredible.

But, before Aurelius had completed this victory over the barbarians, Verus, weary of the toils of war, determined to return to the pleasures which he had unwillingly left at Rome. While journeying slowly thitherward, he was seized with a fit of apoplexy, which put an end to his life, and thus gave Aurelius sole possession of the empire.

This excellent emperor mourned sincerely the loss of his unworthy colleague, and used all laudable means to save his memory from the contempt to which it was justly entitled. It is reasonable, however, to suppose that, for the sake of Rome's welfare, he rejoiced to be able to act now with greater diligence and success than ever. The barbarians, though repulsed, and even driven from the empire, were not yet wholly conquered; and the return of the emperor to Rome enabled them to collect in still greater numbers to harass their powerful ene-

my. It became necessary, therefore, for Aurelius to take the field once more; and he prepared himself, accordingly, for a long and vigorous campaign. Indeed, it was several years before these obstinate barbarians could be subdued; but the perseverance of Aurelius finally accomplished it, and they were compelled to accept such terms of peace as he thought fit to propose to them.

Disbanding now his armies, in the hope that he had secured his empire against further difficulties with the troublesome people who surrounded it, he applied himself to such matters of internal policy as seemed to demand his attention. The public expenses were greatly diminished through his care; the useless and demoralizing shows and sports exhibited in the amphitheatre were lessened, and the luxuries of the great very much restrained, as well by his own example, as by the wise regulations which it was in his power to enact.

But the hope which he had entertained concerning the barbarians, rested upon a false foundation; and his zealous efforts to promote the happiness and welfare of his people at home, were suddenly interrupted by ravages upon his empire, carried on with even greater fury than before. All the nations, indeed, from

A remarkable battle.

Illyricum to the farthest parts of Gaul, had united to take up arms against him, while he, in the enjoyment of a fancied peace, had suffered his broken legions to remain unrecruited, and his empty treasury to continue un replenished.

With the energy peculiar to him, however, he soon repaired his shattered forces, by large enlistments of slaves and gladiators; and, in order to raise money, sold all the movables of the empire, with the costly furniture which had been deposited, in endless variety, in the cabinets of his predecessors. Some idea of this sale may be obtained from the fact that it continued, uninterrupted, for the space of two months. In the mean time his preparations went on with the greatest activity; and his numerous enemies, one after another, were soon compelled to fly from his territories, or to yield themselves as slaves.

One of the battles fought during these campaigns, and which resulted in great benefit to the Christians, is often related on account of the miraculous circumstances accompanying it. This battle was commenced by an army of the barbarians, near the border of a shallow stream, which separated them from the Roman legions. The attack was so vigorous that the Romans

were induced to ford the stream, in order to punish the enemy with greater severity; but the latter fled immediately towards the neighboring mountains, at the same time tempting the Romans, in various ways, to follow them.

By degrees, Aurelius and his troops found themselves in the narrow passes of the mountains, surrounded on every side by precipitous rocks, exposed to the intense rays of a summer sun, and utterly destitute of water. The soldiers, wearied by the useless pursuit of their cunning foes, and fainting, for want of something to quench their intolerable thirst, dropped down by hundreds upon the inhospitable rocks. Aurelius went about, in person, doing every thing in his power to relieve their distress, and to animate their courage.

In the mean time the barbarians collecting in vast numbers, began to make preparations to take the exhausted Romans an easy prey. But just as they were about to fall upon them, it is said that a Christian legion, under the command of Aurelius, fell down upon their knees, and united in the most earnest supplications to Heaven for deliverance. Immediately a dark cloud, moving over the heads of the contending armies, discharged upon the Romans a refresh-

Conspiracy of Avidius Casius.

ing shower, and, at the same time, sent down upon their enemies a terrible storm of hail, which, slaying them by hundreds and thousands, accomplished the salvation of the Roman army. Such was the effect of this miraculous assistance upon Aurelius, that he caused the persecution against the Christians to be suspended, and wrote to the Senate a letter in their behalf.

But the emperor had scarcely achieved his conquest of the barbarians, when a dangerous conspiracy was concerted against him by Avidius Casius, one of his favorite generals, who was at the head of a powerful army in the East. This man had acquired a great military reputation, by his success in the wars upon the Parthians; and he was, moreover, held in great esteem by all the virtuous portion of the empire, on account of the excellent discipline which he had introduced into the army. A selfish desire to promote his own interests, seemed, however, to be his motive for gaining popularity; and, as soon as he believed that he had secured enough of public favor, he caused a report to be circulated that Aurelius was dead, and then proclaimed himself emperor in Syria, declaring, at the same time, that his object was the re-establishment of the for-

Aurelius's treatment of the conspiracy.

mer commonwealth of Rome. By such pretensions, he succeeded, soon, in drawing immense bodies of men under his command, and, in a short time, brought all the countries, from Syria to Mount Taurus, under his subjection.

When the news of this conspiracy was brought to Aurelius, he listened to it without the least manifestation of fear, but, at the same time, began to make preparations to oppose it, telling his soldiers that he would freely yield the empire to Avidius, if such a measure would be most conducive to the public good.

“I am ready,” said he to them, “to meet Avidius before the Senate, and before you, and to yield to him the empire, without the shedding of blood, or striking a blow, if it shall be thought for the public good. But Avidius will never submit to such a tribunal; he who has been faithless to his benefactor, can never rely upon any man’s professions. He will not, even in case of being defeated, rely on me. And yet, my fellow-soldiers, my only fear is that he may put an end to his own life, or that some one, thinking to do me a service, should hasten his death. The greatest hope that I have, is to prove that I can pardon the greatest offences; to make him my friend in spite of his reluc-

The conspiracy defeated.

tance, and to show the world that even civil wars may have a happy issue.”

Avidius left no means untried to strengthen his power. His efforts to gain partisans in certain quarters, especially in Greece, were not so successful as he anticipated, and his offers to some of the provinces were rejected with contempt. Indeed, the excellent Aurelius had obtained such a strong hold upon almost the entire world, that it is surprising that Avidius should have succeeded even as well as he did. Much of his success was, doubtless, due to his former good character, and the reported death of Aurelius. When his duplicity became apparent, and the fact concerning the emperor's well-being established, the officers and soldiers of Avidius began to regard him with contempt, and, finally, only four months after the commencement of the revolt, they slew him. His head was carried to Aurelius, who received it with many expressions of regret, and ordered it to be decently interred.

Those who were engaged in this conspiracy of Avidius, were treated with the utmost leniency by Aurelius, who would not suffer one of them to receive any greater punishment than banishment. The friends of Aurelius took the liberty to blame him for this leniency, telling

Aurelius makes a journey into the East.

him that Avidius would not have been so generous had he been the conqueror. To which the emperor made the following reply, so admirably illustrative of the security to be found in the conscientious discharge of all the duties of life: "I never served the gods so ill," said he, "or lived so irregularly, as to fear that Avidius could be the conqueror."

Not long after this event, Aurelius took a journey into the East, where he feared the example of Avidius might have a pernicious influence. His absence from Rome continued for the long space of eight years, during which time he visited a large number of provinces, charming every one by his affability, and raising, if it were possible, the admiration in which his worth and talents were everywhere held. At Athens, where he remained some time, he seemed to devote himself entirely to the welfare of the people, inquiring into their wants, and advising them as to their interests. He conferred many honors upon the inhabitants, and established among them professors in various sciences, providing abundant means for their proper maintenance.

Nothing could exceed the joy which prevailed throughout all Italy, when Aurelius returned from his long sojourn in the East. The

His return—His devotion to philosophy.

inhabitants of the various towns through which he passed, went out in crowds to meet him, and every honor was paid to his distinguished worth. Laying aside his military dress as soon as he touched the soil, and even obliging the soldiers who accompanied him to do the same, he journeyed towards Rome, and entered it, not as a conqueror, but like a simple citizen. Here he distributed large sums of money among his delighted subjects, and remitted taxes which had been accumulating for many years.

Not long after his return, he named his son Commodus as his successor to the empire, and then, retiring to a beautiful country-seat, spent some time in studying philosophy, which was not with him a subject of mere speculation : such, it is said, was the tranquillity of his mind, that he was never observed to feel any emotion, nor to change the expression of his countenance, either in joy or in sorrow. The fruits of his studies are found in a work, still extant, known as his *Meditations*, and which was written by him in the Greek language.

Aurelius was now far advanced in life, and justly entitled to spend the remainder of his days in undisturbed repose ; but this was not destined to be his fortune. The Scythians, and

His expedition against the Scythians—Sickness of Aurelius.

other barbarous nations, took up arms once more against the empire, and invaded it with all the fury which they had exhibited upon former occasions. Notwithstanding his increased years, Aurelius made the most active preparations to repel their dangerous incursions, and, despite the earnest remonstrances of his people, went forth in person to defend his country. But his subjects, fearing that they would never see him again, would not let him set out until he had given them instructions for their future conduct. Accordingly, after spending three whole days in giving them short maxims, by which they might regulate their lives, he departed upon his expedition, amidst the prayers and lamentations of all his people.

The usual courage and prudence of Aurelius resulted in the conquest of his enemies, during this campaign. But in the third year of the war he was seized with the plague at Vindobona, a city now known by the name of Vienna. From the first moment of his attack, he seemed to be aware that his end had come, and with undiminished solicitude for the welfare of his country, he desired to spend his remaining breath in its behalf. Gathering, therefore, his principal officers about his bed, he imparted to them such advice as he thought would be of

His anxiety for his son—His death.

service to them and to the public. It was impossible for him to conceal the uneasiness which he felt at leaving the empire in the hands of so unpromising a person as his son Commodus; and he did not hesitate to implore those who were around him to provide good examples and instructions for this unworthy heir to the sovereignty.

“Make him particularly sensible,” said the dying emperor, “that not all the riches and honors of the world are sufficient to satisfy the luxury and ambition of a tyrant; nor are the strongest guards and armies able to defend him from the just rewards of his crimes. Assure him that cruel princes never enjoy a long and peaceful reign; and that all the real delights of power are reserved for those, only, whose clemency and mildness have gained them the hearts of the people.”

Thus, occupied with the welfare of his country, died the excellent Aurelius in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and in the twentieth of his reign; and a sad event it was for Rome, whose glory and prosperity seemed to have been buried with him. Bad emperors enough had already occupied the throne, but henceforth they were to be more numerous than ever. The barbarous enemies, heretofore so successfully

Factions and conspiracies.

beaten off, were to become more dangerous, and more obstinate. Factions and conspiracies were to become greatly multiplied, and patriotism to diminish year by year until finally extinct.

THE PRÆTORIAN GUARDS.

FROM 181 TO 235 A. D.

EARLY conduct of Commodus—His hatred of the Senate—Infamous behavior of Cleander, and its consequences—Brutality of Commodus—His performances in the circus—Conspiracy against him—His death—Elevation of Pertinax—His virtuous reign—The Prætorian guards—Their institution—Their usurpation of power—Their sale of the empire at auction—Its purchase by Didius Julianus—His treatment by the Prætorians—Severus made emperor—The Prætorians disbanded—Severus and his rivals—Overthrow of Niger—Severus's expedition into Britain—His death—Quarrels between Caracalla and Geta—Caracalla made emperor by the Prætorian guards—Jealousy between officers of the guard—Conspiracy against Caracalla—Macrinus made emperor—He incurs the hatred of the soldiers—He is slain—The elevation of Heliogabalus—His follies—He is slain by the guard—Alexander made emperor—His wise regulations—His military expeditions—The conspiracy of Maximin.



A ROYAL GLADIATOR.

VIII.

THE PRÆTORIAN GUARDS.

It was very unfortunate for Rome that Aurelius should have been willing to place its destiny in the hands of a worthless young man like his son Commodus. He did it, however, not without employing every means within his power to prevent the mischief which was likely to ensue from the elevation to supreme power of a youth of nineteen years, possessed of a very narrow mind, and addicted to the worst of vices. Indeed Commodus listened, for a season, to the wise counsellors, to whom his father had solemnly committed him; and the difficult war against the barbarians, in which the empire was engaged when he succeeded to the throne, continued to be prosecuted with much success. He took the burden of the campaign upon his own shoulders, and seemed, at first, to sustain it with all the ability displayed by his incom-

parable father. But, by degrees, dissolute persons of his own age, with whom he had, hitherto, been forbidden to associate, began to find access to him, and, finally, to have more influence over him than the excellent instructors under whom he had been placed.

It was through their advice, accompanied by the tempting descriptions which they gave of the pleasures of Rome, that he was induced to abandon the campaign in which he had engaged, and return to the city. But even after taking this step, he could not, at once, turn a deaf ear to the counsels of the worthy men to whom his father had commended him. For the space of three years, being more or less under their control, no material change could be seen in the government of the empire, though the youthful monarch indulged, without restraint, in every species of debauchery.

It is impossible to tell to what extremities of wickedness his love of sensual pleasures might have carried him. He does not, however, seem to have been guilty of bloodshed, until an attempt was first made upon his own life. This happened, upon a certain occasion, as he was going through one of the passages of the amphitheatre. An assassin came suddenly upon him, and, brandishing a drawn sword, cried

Commodus becomes enraged at the Senate.

out, "Traitor, the Senate sends thee this!" But the imprudent assassin was seized by some of the emperor's guards, before he could effect his purpose; and his subsequent confessions fixed the crime upon the emperor's sister, who afterwards suffered death for this abominable act.

But Commodus was not satisfied with the punishment of those who were doubtless concerned in this conspiracy against his life. The words of the assassin inspired him with the most bitter hatred against the Senate; and his suspicion, alone, of this body, was sufficient to bring forward those who were ready to accuse its members, for the sake of the rewards which they were sure to receive. Numbers of them in this way suffered death, and many profligate men were really enriched by the most atrocious murders. Among those who thus acquired unbounded wealth was one Perennis, an unprincipled man, to whom Commodus had committed the care of the government, while he himself was buried in his pleasures. Perennis, becoming at length one of the richest men in Rome, began to aspire to the empire, and by means of his great wealth, was enabled to find enough of those who were willing to aid him in his enterprise. Ill success, which, sooner or later, is sure

to attend bad men, finally visited him ; and the immense treasures which he had accumulated, were insufficient to save him from the anger of Commodus. As soon as the plot of Perennis was discovered, he and his sons were all put to death.

The emperor finding himself thus surrounded by persons who were willing to take his life, began to grow still more regardless of the lives of others, and the best men of Rome, consequently, fell daily, a sacrifice to his unjust suspicions, or, to his abominable avarice. This cruelty, very naturally, rendered his reign more odious, and his death more desirable. Conspiracies, therefore, multiplied ; desertions, also, took place among his troops, and revolts occurred among his provinces. The murmurs of the people broke out into open rebellion ; and pestilence and famine, finally, filling up the measure of their calamity, they dared to oppose the bloody tyrant. At this time it was that Cleander, the successor of Perennis, and a great favorite of the emperor, fell a sacrifice to the fury of the populace.

This execrable minister of Commodus, by rendering himself useful to the passions of his master, and by exhibiting an utter want of virtue, had acquired an authority little inferior to

Infamous conduct of Cleander—Fury of the people.

that of the emperor. This authority being exercised, however, chiefly for the purpose of gratifying his own avarice, was accorded, without any limitation, to Cleander. Offices of honor and trust were exposed to public sale, by this infamous man; and wealthy persons were sometimes compelled to give their entire fortunes for the empty title of Consul, Patrician, or Senator. The laws were also administered by him without any regard to justice. Innocent men were condemned, in order that he might be able to sell to them a pardon; and criminals, justly condemned, could purchase a reversal of their sentences.

Commodus had a share of the wealth acquired by such abominable practices, and in order that it might still continue to flow in, he undertook, in connection with Cleander, to make a great exhibition of liberality by erecting baths, porticoes, and places of exercise for the people. But when, during the famine, Cleander attempted to monopolize the sale of corn, and thus to fill his coffers, the people rose in mass, and declared that it was time to rid the earth of such a monster. The palace of the emperor was besieged by angry multitudes, who demanded the head of the public enemy. Cleander, terrified by such a furious demonstra-

tion, ordered a body of cavalry to fall upon the people; but these were assailed so vigorously by stones, arrows, and other missiles thrown upon them from the windows and house-tops, that they were forced to retreat; and Commodus, at last, to save his own life, ordered the head of his favorite Cleander to be cut off and thrown among the crowd.

Commodus, from the window of his palace, saw, with the utmost indifference, the head of his favorite minister kicked about the street, and turned from it to his pleasures, with all his usual relish. Every vestige of humanity had now deserted him. His very amusements, indeed, consisted of cruelties, such as would have shocked the most degraded savages. His subjects fled at his approach, for it was not unusual for him, under the protection of his guards, to strike at them with his sword, cutting off an ear, a nose, or limb, and frequently killing them in the very thoroughfares. On one occasion, dressing himself in the costume of Hercules, and armed with a heavy club, he went into the street, and entering a group of beggars and cripples, whom he had caused to be collected together, fell upon them and beat several to death before they could make their escape.

Commodus is said to have been the only one

His performance in the circus.

of the Roman emperors who had not the least taste for any of the liberal arts. Even Nero was fond of poetry and music, but the pleasures of Commodus were not elevated above those of the very lowest of the people. When he was not occupied in gratifying his beastly lusts, he might be found engaged in the exercises of the circus or the amphitheatre; and, indeed, he acquired great skill in shooting with the bow, and in throwing the javelin. Flattered, like Nero, by the profligate men who surrounded him, he determined, at length, to give exhibitions of his strength and dexterity; and the amphitheatre was crowded by his curious subjects, when they learned that they were to be entertained by an imperial performer. He stepped into the arena, armed with bow and arrows; and as lions or panthers were, one by one, let loose upon him, he sent his unerring shafts, alternately, through their heads or hearts. With arrows shaped like a crescent, it is said that he could cut off the head of an ostrich while running at its greatest speed.

Not content with such a degrading exhibition of himself, he even entered the lists as a gladiator, a profession which had been long branded as infamous. His favorite character, on these occasions, was that of the *Secutor*, who,

His conduct censured by his friends—His fury.

armed with a helmet, sword, and buckler, met his antagonist, the *Retiarius*. The latter was furnished with a net, with which he tried to entangle his adversary, and with a trident with which he sought to slay him. It is said that in this character he fought seven hundred and thirty-five times.

Lætius his general, Electus his chamberlain, and Marcia one of his female favorites, remonstrated with him on this abominable conduct. But their advice only served to make him angry; and as death alone was an adequate punishment for those who offended him, he placed their names among those in his tablets whom he determined to destroy. Like Domitian, being one day careless enough to leave this list in his apartment, while taking a bath in an adjoining room, it was picked up by a little child and carried to Marcia, who was only too curious to examine it. Shocked by discovering her own name among the number of those condemned by the tyrant to death, she ran with the fatal list to Lætius and Electus, who were no less terrified at finding their own names associated with hers.

These three persons, without hesitation, resolved to seize the first opportunity to poison Commodus; and in accordance with this reso-

lution, a deadly draught was soon after administered to him by the hands of Marcia. The immediate effect of the potion was to throw him into a profound slumber, during which, all his attendants were removed from the apartment, under pretence that he needed rest. Awakening, in a short time, he began to vomit violently; and Marcia fearing that he might finally recover, summoned to her assistance a young man named Narcissus, who, with her aid, strangled the unconscious emperor. Thus, after a reign of twelve years, and at the age of thirty-one, died one of the most execrable monarchs that ever disgraced the Roman empire.

So much secrecy had been observed by the conspirators, that the death of Commodus was not known until his body had been removed from the palace, and a person selected to fill the vacant throne. This person was Helvius Pertinax, the præfect of the city, a senator of consular rank, whose merit had elevated him from the lowest position to the highest offices of the empire. The son of a liberated slave, he had been successively a shop-keeper, a school-master, a lawyer, and a soldier. In the last station he exhibited so much courage and wisdom, that he was made commander of a legion, by Aurelius, and, subsequently, governor of Dacia,

Helvius Pertinax and the conspirators—Pertinax made emperor.

Syria, and Asia Minor. Although Commodus had banished him on account of his virtues, he was, afterwards, willing to recall him and make him præfect of the city, on account of his eminent abilities.

As soon as the emperor was dead, Lælius, the Prætorian præfect, and Electus, the chamberlain, ran from the palace, notwithstanding it was midnight, and knocking at the door of Pertinax, demanded entrance. On learning the names of his visitors, Pertinax, supposing that they had been commissioned by the emperor to take his life, bade them come in and execute their master's orders. And when they told him that Commodus was dead, and that they had come to offer to him the empire, he refused to trust them, believing that this was only a mad prank of the tyrant, intended as a prelude to his own destruction. Convinced, at length, that they were not deceiving him, he consented with great reluctance to accept the crown, and was conducted with as little delay as possible to the camp of the Prætorian bands, where it was immediately announced that Commodus had died of apoplexy, and that Pertinax had succeeded him.

The astonished soldiers having agreed to accept the new emperor, the Senate was called

Joy of the people.

together, at dawn of day, to ratify the choice thus made. Their surprise was not less than that of Pertinax; but, when they had recovered from it, they made the Senate House resound with their expressions of indignation against the tyrant, and of joy at being delivered from him. They decreed, at once, to erase his name from the public monuments, to throw down his statues, to drag his body with a hook to the dressing-rooms of the gladiators, for the public gaze, and thence to throw it on a dunghill.

Legal and just as were these decrees, Pertinax prevented such an unnecessary display of rage; and, from respect to the memory of Aurelius, permitted the body of Commodus to have a decent burial. He knew that a virtuous life on his part would be the most effectual way of condemning the vices of his predecessor; and he accordingly began, even upon the day of his accession, to show the people that neither pride, nor jealousy, nor pomp, nor luxury, were indispensable to the dignity of an emperor. His wife was not permitted, like former empresses, to be styled Augusta, and he forbade his son to take the rank of Cæsar. Different in all respects from his predecessor, he banished from the palace the profligate persons who frequented it, and gave encouragement to

those, only, who were distinguished for their virtues.

Although Pertinax was, at this time, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, he lacked none of the vigor essential to the conduct of so vast an empire. Had he been allowed a longer reign, he might have brought back the empire to the glory which it possessed in the days of the Antonines. But short, even, as was the reign of this estimable man, he did much to repair the injuries done by Commodus. By economy and industry, he succeeded in replenishing the public treasury, which had been exhausted through the prodigality of his predecessor. The worthless favorites of this infamous tyrant were compelled to give up their ill-gotten treasures; and those honest persons who had been robbed through his rapacity, were put in possession of their wealth. The demands of the just creditors of the State were satisfied. Innocent victims were recalled from exile, and released from prison; and hundreds of slaves, who were held in unlawful bondage, were set at liberty. The meanest of the people had access to him, the Senate respected him, and the barbarous nations, who regarded his name with terror, laid down their arms when they knew that he had succeeded to the throne.

But Rome was under the dominion of an abandoned soldiery, whose manners the estimable Pertinax had vainly labored to reform. So long had they been accustomed to the indulgence and profusion of Commodus, that they were ready to rebel against a monarch, whose justice filled the people with joy, while it deprived them of the benefits which they had hitherto derived from the disorders of the State. Indeed, Pertinax had not been three days upon the throne, when a party of the Prætorian guards seized upon a worthy senator, and, carrying him to the camp, wished to compel him to accept the empire. He stoutly refused the dangerous honor. But, not long after, they persuaded Socius Falco to receive it, and a conspiracy was formed, which was, however, promptly crushed by the resolute conduct of the emperor. This only served to irritate the Prætorians more; and, at the expiration of about three months from the accession of Pertinax, a general sedition broke out in their camp, which it was impossible to control. A large body of soldiers declaring openly that they would no longer endure the rule of Pertinax, took up their arms, and marched towards the imperial palace.

The news of their approach preceded them,

Its consequences—Institution of the Prætorian guards.

and the friends of the emperor, hastening to his apartments, besought him to throw himself into the hands of the people, and entreat of them protection. But he said, in reply, that it was unworthy his imperial dignity and all his past actions, to save himself by flight. In the mean time the rebels entered the palace gates, which were opened by their accomplices within, and, rushing furiously into the chamber of the emperor, fell upon him with their swords and lances. In an instant his body rolled upon the floor, covered with a multitude of wounds. By his side fell, also, Electus, and several of his faithful attendants, who vainly endeavored to defend him. His head was then separated from his body, and, placed upon the point of a lance, was carried in triumph to the camp of the Prætorian guards.

These Prætorian bands, so frequently mentioned in the course of this narrative, and into whose hands the destiny of the empire seemed now to have fallen, were instituted by Augustus to protect his person and his power. They consisted, originally, of ten cohorts, each numbering one thousand men, horse and foot. They were distinguished by double pay and especial privileges. Their term of service was twelve years; at the expiration of which time,

Their demands.

each soldier received twenty thousand sesterces. Augustus kept but three of these cohorts in the city, stationing the remainder of them in different parts of Italy; but Tiberius, about fifty years after, under pretence of introducing a stricter discipline, assembled them all in Rome, in a permanent camp, which was strongly fortified.

These powerful bands, established in the very seat of the empire, and regarded, at first, as protectors of the Senate, the people, and the treasures, perceived, in time, that it was easy for them to have the empire entirely under their control. At first they exhibited a great deal of pride, and demanded privileges quite inconsistent with the discipline necessary to be observed in armies. Indulged by successive emperors in their pleasures and irregularities, they began, by degrees, to regard themselves as an independent body, and, finally, as the highest power of the State. From the time of Claudius, they exacted from every new successor to the throne, a large donation in consideration of their protection; and, at last, an emperor could not be appointed without their consent.

The dreadful disposal which they made of the worthy Pertinax, was a new and still more

dangerous assumption of power; but it was, soon after, followed by an act too shameful to be related. When the party who had undertaken the destruction of Pertinax had accomplished their deadly purpose, the people, acknowledging, as it were, a power greater than the throne, and even than themselves, awaited in patience the next demonstration of the thousand-headed tyrant that had assumed to rule them. Previous to the bloody act, the governor of the city, Sulpicianus, had, it is true, gone to the camp for the purpose of calming the tempest, but certainly not with any hope of success, for he had not been long within the fortifications, when the head of his son-in-law, the emperor, was brought thither by the furious soldiers, upon the point of a lance. It is natural to suppose that he would have fled with horror from the sight; but the brutal man, gazing with indifference upon the scene, began to urge the claim which he now had upon the vacant throne, and even to offer money to secure it.

But a vacant throne was a commodity which the Prætorian market did not every day afford, and it was fair to suppose that a handsome bargain might now be made. The shrewdest of the band having taken the offer of Sulpicianus into consideration, concluded that it was too

They offer to sell the empire at auction—The bidders.

small; and, thereupon, one of them ran out upon the ramparts, and bawled out, in trumpet tones, that the Roman empire would be sold, immediately, at public auction, to the highest bidder.

The news flew in every direction through the city, and presently the walls of the Prætorian camp were beset by crowds of the wealthy and shameless men of Rome. The bidding was spirited, but chiefly conducted by Sulpicianus, and Didius Julianus, a man possessed of no other commendation for the exalted office than his heaps of gold, and his silly wife and daughters, who, like many thousands of their kind, imagined glory and honor to be the attendants of position, and not of ability or talents. The highest bid of Sulpicianus was one hundred and sixty pounds sterling to each soldier. This would make a large sum when multiplied by ten thousand; but Didius was anxious to secure the prize, and, well aware that he could never be emperor in any other way, rose to two hundred pounds, when the gates of the camp were thrown open to the despicable purchaser of empty titles, and the soldiers swore allegiance to him.

Soon after the accomplishment of this abominable deed, the soldiers conducted Didius to

The sale and delivery—Value of purchased honors.

the Senate House, and demanded a ratification of their choice. "Fathers," said Didius, as he was ushered into the presence of the assembled Senators, "you want an emperor, and I am the fittest person you can choose." More words were, of course, unnecessary, under the circumstances, and Didius, having been at once formally acknowledged emperor by the Senate, was escorted to the palace, where his wife and daughters speedily arrived, to share the brief honors which he was destined to enjoy.

The people, now thoroughly enraged by the shameful conduct of the Prætorian bands, began to calculate the strength which they could bring against them; and, reasonably concluding that the numerous legions scattered over the empire would never assent to such an assumption of power on the part of the soldiery at home, they caused the doings at Rome to be carried to them with all dispatch. In the mean time they refused to submit to the authority of Didius, and sought every opportunity to pour forth their imprecations against him, and to ridicule his contemptible ambition.

Pescennius Niger, governor of Syria, and Septimius Severus, commander of the German legions, on hearing what had taken place at

More aspirants—Didius in difficulty—He is deserted by the Prætorians.

Rome, resolved, by the assistance of their respective troops, to take possession of the empire. Each, accordingly, proclaimed himself emperor. But while Niger, elated by the homage paid to him by all the kings and potentates in Asia, was giving himself up to feasting and luxury, Severus, at the head of a powerful army, marched with all speed to Rome.

Poor Didius, who had not dreamed that the throne would cost him any thing beyond the purchase-money, which he had paid into the hands of the Prætorian soldiers, was utterly confounded at the prospect of parting, possibly, with a portion of his blood. Resolving, however, to make the best of his unfortunate position, he begged the Senate to proclaim Severus a traitor; and when they had gratified him in this respect, he besought the Prætorian cohorts to aid him in opposing the usurper. But the cohorts, relishing the vices and luxuries of Rome more than the dangers and fatigue of war, and quite indifferent, moreover, to the cause of Didius, concluded to remain within their camp, and suffer this affair to take its course. Advice of every kind was, in the mean time, profusely lavished upon the confounded Didius, who, at last, in very desperation, sent an embassy to Severus, offering to receive him

His fate—Severus made emperor.

as partner in the empire; but the offer was rejected with contempt.

By this time the Senate had become so thoroughly disgusted with the cowardice and incompetency of the emperor, that they decreed, unanimously, that he should be deprived of the empire, and that Severus should be proclaimed in his stead. Not content with this, they decided, also, that Didius should be slain, and, accordingly, sent messengers to the palace for the purpose of dispatching him. The miserable man was found by them, weeping in the midst of a few personal friends, who had not yet deserted him. When the executioners made known their errand, he undertook to reason with them on the subject, declaring that his purchase of the empire was no crime, and that he was entitled to enjoy it for the natural period of his life. But the messengers of the Senate, protesting that they had no authority to enter into the merits of the case, led him into the secret baths of the palace, where he paid the penalty of his folly and of his pitiful ambition.

Soon after this the Senate sent ambassadors to Severus, yielding him obedience, and granting him the ensigns and the usual titles of empire. He continued his march towards Rome,

The Prætorian guards disbanded.

but, while yet some distance from the city, he issued his commands to the Prætorian bands to meet him, without their arms, on a large plain, at no great distance from the walls. Afraid to disobey, and yet hoping to gain the favor of the emperor, they marched from their camp, arrayed in their most brilliant costume, and bearing branches of laurel in their hands. The emperor meeting them upon the appointed field, caused a portion of his army to surround them, with levelled spears; and, while they were expecting the just punishment of their gross misconduct, he mounted a tribunal, previously erected, and, after reproaching them with perfidy and cowardice, caused them to be stripped of their splendid ornaments, and ordered them, under penalty of death, to march, without the least delay, a hundred miles from Rome.

Severus then entered the city with the greatest military pomp, and took possession of the imperial palace. Promising the Senate that he would reign with clemency and justice, he sought to prove his love of virtue, by ordering the burial rites of Pertinax to be celebrated with the utmost magnificence. He, himself, pronounced his funeral oration; and, at its close, the people generally agreed that the

royal eulogist was worthy to supply the place of that much-lamented prince.

Although Severus had been thus successful in placing himself upon the throne, he feared the power of Pescennius Niger, the governor of Syria, who had been proclaimed emperor by the vast army in the East, and acknowledged by the potentates of Asia. He was also jealous of Clodius Albinus, commander of the legions in Britain. In order to prevent them from uniting their forces against him, he cheated them both into the belief that he had no suspicion of them; and, at the same time, made secret arrangements to accomplish their destruction. Under pretence of visiting the eastern provinces for the purpose of regulating the affairs of that portion of the empire, he marched thither with a powerful army, and, coming suddenly upon Niger, made him an easy prey. In the mean time, conferring upon Albinus the rank of Cæsar, he endeavored, after his victory in the East, to get rid of him by treachery. Writing, accordingly, a letter to Albinus, whom he addressed in the most affectionate manner, he recounted his signal victory over Niger, and begged him to conduct the affairs of Britain with a view to their common interest. This letter was intrusted to some of the crea-

Overthrow of Niger.

tures of Severus, with instructions that, after it had been read by Albinus, they should obtain a private interview with him, and plunge their daggers into his heart. But Albinus, being notified of this conspiracy, proclaimed himself emperor, and, crossing into Gaul, at the head of an immense army, marched forward with all speed to encounter Severus. A battle ensued between them, which lasted from morning till night without any apparent advantage on either side. Severus, however, conquered in the end. Albinus was taken prisoner, and his head separated from his body.

Unwilling to lead an inactive life, Severus, having now secured himself in the possession of his empire, determined to make war upon the Parthians who were invading his frontiers. These he succeeded in subduing, and, after taking and plundering a number of large and wealthy cities, he returned to Rome in triumph. Then he resolved to make an expedition into Britain, where a formidable resistance had been made to the Roman power. Before setting out, however, Severus appointed his two sons, Caracalla and Geta, joint successors in the empire. Taking them with him, he landed in Britain, and marched immediately against the Caledonians. Notwithstanding the prodigious diffi-

Expedition of Severus to Britain—His death.

culties attending this expedition, and the loss of fifty thousand men from sickness and fatigue, he compelled the enemy to sue for peace. For the better security of the country, he built the famous wall, still called by his name, which extends from the Solway Frith to the German Ocean.

The amazing labor which he had been obliged to perform during this campaign, impaired his health so much, that he was obliged to retire to York in order to obtain repose. But it was in vain that he endeavored to regain his strength. Indeed, it was still further reduced by a revolt among his soldiers, instigated by his son Caracalla, a young man entirely destitute of every virtue. This revolt Severus managed to repress; but not long after, in the sixty-sixth year of his age and the eighteenth of his reign, he died, leaving his empire, according to his declaration, in a comparatively flourishing condition.

His sons Caracalla and Geta, the former fierce and cruel, the latter mild and merciful, succeeded to the throne. They were cheerfully acknowledged by the people and the provinces, and received, on their return to Rome, with every demonstration of respect. But such was the enmity which existed between them, that

The Prætorians make Caracalla emperor.

they could not meet unless each was surrounded by a numerous train of armed followers. No communication was allowed between their apartments in the imperial palace, and each fortified his chambers with the utmost diligence against the other. A proposition was made to divide the empire between them, and this, doubtless, would have been done, had not the infamous Caracalla resolved upon a speedy mode of bringing their mutual quarrels to an end. At the entreaties of his mother, he consented to meet his brother in her apartment, on terms of peace and reconciliation; but, contriving to conceal some soldiers close at hand, he caused them to rush in, at a preconcerted signal, and Geta was inhumanly murdered in the very arms of his mother.

The indignation of the people would, perhaps, have been visited upon Caracalla, but he fled from the palace to the Prætorian camp, where, by means of the most extravagant promises of money, he secured protection. These soldiers, quite as corrupt as those banished by Severus, proclaimed him sole emperor, and stigmatized his brother Geta as a traitor, and an enemy of the commonwealth. They also terrified the Senate into the same measures, and Caracalla was invested with undivided power.

A man who could thus cause the death of his own brother, was capable of any crime ; and it is not, therefore, surprising to find that he should, soon after, kill his own wife, and destroy all those who had dared to utter a word against his cruel conduct. Two thousand persons are said to have perished on account of their expression of sympathy for his brother. Having very properly concluded that the people hated him, he declared that, knowing how to secure his own safety, he cared not for their love. But his safety was purchased at an enormous price. The Prætorian soldiers could be kept steadfast to his interest only by exhausting the treasury, and by committing acts of unpardonable rapacity.

Tortured by a guilty conscience, and unable to remain in a city where, as he said, he beheld the angry forms of his father and brother rising to upbraid him, he left Rome about a year after the murder of Geta, and never more returned. But the cities where he sojourned, were filled with mourning, on account of his cruel acts ; and it is even said that the waters of the Nile were tinged with the blood of the citizens of Alexandria, massacred at his command, by his inhuman soldiers. The expense of his journeys, and of his residence in distant

Jealousies between the officers of the Prætorian guards.

lands, was immense. Magnificent palaces and theatres were erected for his accommodation in the different cities through which he passed, and many of these he ordered to be thrown down, because they did not please his taste. Multitudes of people were ruined by the enormous taxes imposed for the purpose of defraying these expenses, the burden of which was felt, indeed, everywhere through the empire.

Caracalla could not fail, under these circumstances, to make himself the subject of universal hatred. The Prætorian soldiers, however, upon whom he showered innumerable favors, were ready to sustain him; but a jealousy, which sprung up between two of his officers, resulted in freeing the world, at last, from this insupportable monster. It seems that Opilius Macrinus, a man of great talents and dexterity, had, on account of the increasing favor shown towards him by the emperor, incurred the hatred of Adventus, another officer of the Prætorian bands. Adventus, hearing in Rome that a famous astrologer had predicted that Macrinus and his son would receive the empire, wrote a letter, in which he related the prediction to Caracalla.

This letter was dispatched with great caution to Caracalla; but the messenger with whom it

Conspiracy against Caracalla.

was intrusted, happened to place it in his hands just as he was making preparations for a chariot race. Caracalla, who never suffered business to interfere with his pleasures, delivered the letter, with several others which he had just received, to Macrinus, telling him, at the same time, to read them all, and impart to him the contents on some future occasion.

Macrinus, reading the letters immediately, was, very naturally, surprised and alarmed at what appeared to him, at once, to be a cunning plot devised by Adventus to accomplish his ruin. Without, however, betraying the least emotion, he put them aside, telling the emperor that they contained nothing of importance. The chariot race went on, but, in the mean time, Macrinus determined, since a conspiracy had been formed against him, to crush it by the destruction of the emperor, against whom he had not, perhaps, hitherto, entertained any evil design.

As soon, therefore, as an opportunity occurred, he made known his design to one Martialis, a soldier of the guard, who, because he had been refused the rank of centurion, and for other reasons, entertained a great hatred for the emperor. Without any hesitation, Martialis entered into the conspiracy, and undertook to

Macrinus made emperor by the Prætorians.

destroy Caracalla at the first favorable moment. It was not long before this moment arrived. Caracalla determining to make a pilgrimage to the temple of the moon at Carrhæ, set out, accompanied by a long train of cavalry. While upon the road, he happened to move on, alone, in advance of his followers. Martialis observing him in this unprotected condition, spurred his horse forward towards him, under pretence of rendering him some assistance; and as soon as he had reached the spot where the emperor was standing, drew a dagger, and plunged it into his heart. The bold deed could not fail to attract attention, and the assassin was immediately cut to pieces by the soldiers of the guard.

However little Macrinus may have, heretofore, thought of obtaining supreme power, the emperor was no sooner dead, than he began to hope that the prophecy concerning himself would prove correct. Conspicuous as the senior præfect of the Prætorian bands, he might easily fancy himself somewhat entitled to the vacant throne. However this may have been, he concealed with great care the part which he had taken in causing the death of Caracalla, and undertook, by means of liberal promises, to secure his election among the sol-

The reception of his regulations by the soldiers.

diers. His popularity, it is true, was not great, but these Prætorian bands had again become so corrupt during the six years' reign of the infamous Caracalla, that they were ready to sell the empire to any one who would pay them a generous price.

Two days, then, after the death of Caracalla, Macrinus was elected emperor by the Prætorian bands, and his name sent to the Senate for confirmation. The Senate, glad to be delivered from a detestable tyrant, did not hesitate to acknowledge the choice made by the soldiers, though they afterwards complained that a man of obscure birth, who had never attained the rank of senator, should be so suddenly elevated to the throne.

Macrinus, finding the empire much embarrassed in consequence of the prodigality of Caracalla, undertook a reformation in the different departments of government, which was, indeed, very desirable, but for which he did not possess the necessary abilities or prudence. His wholesome regulations were not well received by a licentious people, and the severe discipline which he attempted to introduce into the army, resulted only in making him an object of hatred among those to whom alone he could look for protection.

Heliogabalus proclaimed emperor.

The immense army assembled by his predecessor in the East, and which, on coming to power, he might have very properly disbanded, became greatly incensed at the new regulations of the new emperor, and finally succeeded in accomplishing his ruin. Many of the soldiers stationed at Emesa, in Phœnicia, were in the habit of resorting to the temple of the Sun, where they gazed with wonder and delight at a young priest officiating there, who, they fancied, bore a striking resemblance to their late sovereign, Caracalla. This young priest became, at last, a subject of general attention, and the temple was daily thronged with troops, curious to behold him. His grandmother, Mæsa, sister of the wife of the late emperor, Severus, and a woman of great wealth, heard, with satisfaction, of the regard manifested by the Roman soldiery for her grandson. Hoping to make it the means of promoting his interests, she affirmed that the young priest, whose name was Bassianus, was the natural son of Caracalla. The story was eagerly believed by the troops of Emesa, and Bassianus was proclaimed emperor.

Although this young prince assumed the name of Antoninus, he is generally distinguished in history by that of Heliogabalus, be-

His disgusting follies.

cause he was originally a priest of that divinity. As soon as he was proclaimed emperor at Emesa, his grandmother, Mæsa, by means of her immense wealth, succeeded in enlisting in his cause other portions of the army stationed in the East. When, therefore, Macrinus heard that a claimant to the throne had suddenly arisen, Heliogabalus was, already, at the head of a powerful force. Macrinus thought it necessary, at first, to send only a few legions, under the command of a lieutenant, to oppose the pretender; but these being promptly defeated, he resolved to go himself, at the head of his entire army. The hostile parties met on the confines of Syria. An obstinate battle ensued, in which Macrinus was overthrown, and subsequently slain, after a short reign of about one year and two months.

The Prætorian guards, who had promptly deserted Macrinus when fortune seemed to forsake him, united with the rest of the army in supporting the pretensions of Heliogabalus; and the Senate, consequently, were constrained to receive him as lawful successor to the throne. He was, at this time, but fourteen years of age, and, though so young, is represented by historians as a monster of sensuality. During the four years in which he reigned, it is said that

A horse raised to the consulship.

he married four wives, all of whom he successively divorced; and then, professing to be a woman himself, married one of his own officers. He made his grandmother Mæsa, and his mother Sæmias, his colleagues on the throne; and he appointed a Senate of women, over whom his mother presided, and by whom the modes and fashions for the empire were prescribed.

The entire reign of this infatuated boy was filled up with absurdities, which it is difficult to see how men possessed of any intelligence could for a moment endure. He was, nevertheless, allowed to squander, in the most reckless manner, the public treasures. He was always dressed in cloth of gold and purple; his whole palace was studded with the most costly jewels; and the floors of his apartments were covered with gold and silver dust. To gratify his childish whims, he was sometimes carried through the streets in a chariot drawn by elephants, at other times by mastiff dogs, and frequently by females. On a certain occasion the whole city was occupied, at his command, in collecting spiders, the entire weight of which, when they were all brought together, equalled ten thousand pounds.

These follies, and even the disgraceful ceremony of raising his horse to the honors of the

Heliogabalus slain by the Prætorians.

consulship, might have been tolerated for a much longer time, had he not mingled with them cruelties never before surpassed. His grandmother, perceiving that he was beginning to make himself an object of terror, persuaded him to adopt his cousin Alexander as his successor, and to take him, at once, as a partner in the cares of government. This he consented to do, but finding, afterwards, that Alexander had, by his virtues, acquired the affections of the people and the army, he determined to rule alone. But the Prætorian guards learning his intentions, threatened to kill him, and even compelled him to place Alexander under their care.

Alarmed, now, for his own safety, he began to use means to protect himself; and regarding the Senate as his most formidable enemies, he banished them all from the city. Then he endeavored to poison Alexander; and believing, perhaps, that he had succeeded, spread a report throughout the city that he was dead; but perceiving that the soldiers were about to mutiny, he took Alexander in his chariot to the camp. Here the soldiers fell upon Heliogabalus and his attendants, and pursuing him back to the palace, succeeded, at last, in killing him.

Alexander, the favorite of the Prætorian

Alexander made emperor.

guards, was immediately elevated by them to the empire, and the Senate, with their usual adulation, offered to confer new titles upon him, which, with becoming modesty, he declined. Indeed, Alexander, adopting the noble model of Trajan and the Antonines, proved to be a most excellent monarch. To the most rigid justice he added the greatest humanity. His accomplishments, besides, were equal to his virtues; he was an excellent mathematician, geometrician, and musician; he was skilful, also, in painting and sculpture, and few, of his time, could equal him in poetry.

Although only seventeen years of age when he ascended the throne, he began with great prudence and wisdom to correct the vices and irregularities which had flourished with but little check during the preceding forty years. The unjust taxes imposed by Caracalla upon the provinces, were removed. The excessive luxury of the people was, by degrees, restrained, and, at the same time, wholesome amusements were liberally furnished for the populace. The dignity and authority of the Senate were restored; and every one began to breathe freely, and to feel that life and property were safe.

The task of rectifying the abuses in civil affairs was comparatively easy, and was repaid

His wise regulations.

by the thanks and praises of his subjects; but the reformation of the army was a far more difficult enterprise, and, although he had the courage and prudence necessary to undertake it, he was destined to become a martyr to the cause. Far from exercising any severity in this difficult work, he began, and conducted it by the most gentle means. Instead, for instance, of compelling the soldiers in their marches to carry, as they had been accustomed, seventeen days provision upon their backs, he caused ample magazines to be formed along the public roads, and numerous trains of mules and camels were employed to relieve them of the burden. He did not diminish their pay, or oblige them to be less prodigal of their money, but simply attempted to check their intemperance, and to direct their luxury to objects of utility, such as splendid armor, fine horses, and shields enriched with gold and silver.

The Prætorian guards entertained, indeed, for Alexander, a great affection. They looked upon him as a protégé whom they had snatched from the hands of a tyrant, and placed upon his throne; and Alexander was not ungrateful to them for the kind feeling which they had manifested towards him. He shared their fatigues and dangers, visited, in person, their sick

and wounded, and, in the camp, contented himself with their food and lodging. But corruption had taken too strong a hold upon the army to be removed, even by the courageous and indefatigable Alexander. The Prætorians became irritated at the reforms which he undertook, but unwilling at first to make him the object of their anger, they accused their præfect, Ulpian, of being the author of their fancied grievances, and, by threatening to burn the city, caused him to be delivered into their hands, and afterwards slain. The celebrated historian, Dion Cassius, a commander of the Pannonian legions, lost his life under somewhat similar circumstances.

Alexander had been ten years upon the throne when he undertook his first military expedition, which was against the Parthians and Persians, and such was the regularity which he had, by this time, gradually introduced into the army, that the days of Roman glory seemed to have returned. His enemies were defeated in a most decisive manner. The cities of Ctesiphon and Babylon were retaken, and the Roman empire restored to its former limits.

A Thracian peasant, named Maximin, who, by means of his great physical strength and cunning, had risen to a distinguished rank in

the army, perceiving that Alexander had incurred the displeasure of his soldiers on account of his strict discipline, conceived the idea of turning this displeasure to his own account. He employed his creatures, accordingly, to go about from legion to legion, to increase the discontent; and in a short time the subdued murmurs of the troops broke out into mutinous clamors. They accused themselves of weakness and stupidity, for having so long submitted to an effeminate Syrian, instead of an experienced general, who could win for them glory and riches.

This was during the thirteenth year of the reign of Alexander, and he was, at this time, at the head of a powerful army, with which he had marched to the banks of the Rhine, for the purpose of opposing the barbarians of Germany, who began to pour down in immense swarms upon the more southern portions of the empire. The task of subduing them had not yet been achieved, when, one day, as it is said, a portion of the army, having invested Maximin with the insignia of royalty, brought him into the camp, and proclaimed him emperor. Alexander, amazed at the proceeding, and foreseeing his fate, retired into his tent to await the result. Followed, soon after, by a

Death of Alexander.

tribune and several centurions, he was shamefully put to death, in the twenty-ninth year of his age.

The death of Alexander was very much lamented by the Christians throughout the empire. Towards them he had always exercised the greatest clemency. The famous Origen is said to have instructed him in the doctrines of Christianity. Upon a certain occasion, a dispute, concerning a piece of ground, having occurred between a company of cooks, who desired to secure it for purposes of feasting, and a number of Christians, who had occupied it for worship, the matter was referred to Alexander, who decided it in these words: "It is better that God be worshipped there, in any manner, than that the place should be put to uses of drunkenness and debauchery."

DECLINE OF THE EMPIRE.

FROM 235 TO 306 A. D.

CHARACTER of Maximin—Conspiracy—Elevation of Gordianus—Contest between Maximin and Gordianus—Maximin's success—Other emperors chosen—Maximin's assassination—New emperors—The secular games—Lamentable condition of the Empire—Persecution of the Christians—The Goths—Other enemies of the Empire—Gallus and Æmilianus—Valerian—A Roman emperor enslaved—King Sapor and Valerian—Gallienus—The Thirty Tyrants—Claudius—His military operations—Aurelian—His expedition against Zenobia—His death—An interregnum—Tacitus made emperor—Florianus and Probus—Further usurpations of the soldiers—Dioclesian—The Empire divided—Persecution of the Christians—Dioclesian and Maximian resign their power—Constantine.



A ROMAN EMPEROR ENSLAVED.

IX.

DECLINE OF THE EMPIRE.

ROME now found itself under the dominion of a despot whose court was a military camp, located, sometimes, upon the banks of the Rhine, and, sometimes, on those of the Danube. Maximin, the first of all the emperors whose election the Senate refused to confirm, either disdained or feared to take up his residence in the imperial city.

It has already been said that Maximin was a Thracian peasant, who, on account of his remarkable appearance, physical strength, and cunning, had risen from a common soldier to the highest station in the army. Although a courageous soldier, and a skilful general, the proud senators could not forget that he had first attracted public notice as a wrestler and a boxer, that his greatness was originally due to his enormous stature, which is said to have exceed-

ed eight feet, and to his wonderful strength, reported to have surpassed that of two oxen. These things they carried in remembrance; and when, therefore, they heard that this ignorant boor, whom they had often seen contending with slaves in the amphitheatre, had been elevated to the throne, they determined to resist the choice of the Prætorian bands. He, on the other hand, while doing every thing to conceal the obscurity of his origin, even to the destruction of his kindred, would not allow any man of noble birth, or accomplishments, or ability, to be near his person.

The masses of the people did not, at first, suffer from his excessive cruelty. It was limited to the nobles and the wealthy, whom he frequently caused to be beaten to death with clubs, or to be exposed to the jaws of ravenous beasts; but, finally, his avarice and the rapacity of his soldiers, prompted him to acts which made the whole empire groan. Not content with confiscating the entire wealth of cities, he stripped the temples of their precious offerings, and melted down, and coined into money, the gold and silver statues of the emperors, the heroes, and the gods.

Notwithstanding this inhuman treatment of his subjects, he did not abandon or delay the

military operations undertaken by his predecessor against the enemies of Rome. He overthrew the Germans in several battles, and laid waste their land with fire and sword, for four hundred miles around him. And wherever the conflict with the enemy raged most fiercely, there, his tall form was always conspicuous, and his powerful arm ever most active. But, with all this, he was unable to win either the affection or respect of those around him; and, although his troops were kept under control, numerous conspiracies were formed against his life. While none of these were successful, an event in Africa resulted in the appointment of another emperor, and gave the Senate courage to attack this heartless usurper.

The enormous fines imposed upon the people of that country by Maximin, drove them, at last, to resistance, and a conspiracy was formed against the officers of Maximin, which ended in their complete destruction. The standard of rebellion against the Roman emperor was erected; and the inhabitants of the province gathering around it, seized upon Gordianus, their proconsul, an excellent old man, of a wealthy and most illustrious Roman family, and compelled him to assume the insignia of royalty. He begged them, with tears in his

eyes, to let him die in peace; but they would not listen to his entreaties, and he promised, finally, to accept the title of emperor, provided the Senate confirmed their choice.

The Senate listened with anxiety to the reports which were brought to them from Africa; but expecting, in any event, that they would soon feel the effects of the hatred of Maximin, and knowing well the worth of Gordianus, they ratified his election, and, with him, made his son, also, emperor. But before these proceedings were made public, the Senate dispatched trusty men to the Prætorian camp, who, slaying the cruel agents stationed there by Maximin, ran, afterwards, through the streets, proclaiming to the people and the soldiers the news of the joyful revolution.

Nothing was left undone to arouse the people against the bloody tyrant. His statues were thrown down, wherever they could be found; arms were collected from every quarter, and soldiers enlisted to go forth to attack him in his imperial camp. The spirit of rebellion pervaded the whole of Italy, and in a short time a powerful army, under the direction of skilful leaders, was ready to combat in the cause of the Senate and the people.

These preparations were scarcely completed,

when news was brought to Rome that an army, commanded by one of Maximin's generals, had marched against the Gordians at Carthage, and defeating their feeble troops, had slain the younger of the emperors, and brought the elder, after a reign of only thirty-six days, to his grave, through grief.

Rome was filled with lamentation by this deplorable disaster. The Senate assembled, uncertain what to do; but as such bodies are seldom without some directing hand, a grave and noble senator at length arose, who, after recounting the virtues of the Gordians, and deploring their loss, closed his speech by saying, "We have lost two excellent princes, but, unless we desert ourselves, the hopes of the republic have not perished with them. Let us choose two emperors. My vote is in favor of Maximus and Balbinus." These men, well known for their courage and virtue, were at once elected, without one dissenting voice, and the temple of Concord, where the Senate was assembled, immediately resounded with "Long life and victory to the emperors Maximus and Balbinus!"

There was, however, a large number of discontented people in the city, who insisted upon adding another emperor to the two already chosen; and, in order to quiet the clamor

Rage of Maximin.

which they made, a grandson of the elder Gordian, only thirteen years of age, was associated with Maximus and Balbinus.

When the news of the proceedings of the Senate was carried to the camp of Maximin, he behaved like a furious wild beast, striking his head violently against the walls of his apartment, and threatening the life of all who ventured to approach him. His fury, at length, subsiding, he passed across the Alps, for the purpose of laying waste the fertile plains of Italy. But the Senate had, with the utmost promptness, fortified all the towns, and placed every obstacle to his progress which they could contrive.

The unexpected opposition which he thus encountered, threw the huge barbarian into such an ungovernable rage, that he fell upon his own officers, and actually caused a number of them to be put to death. In the mean time the armies of the Senate, under the command of skilful generals, were advancing to meet him. A terrible and decisive conflict seemed inevitable, when the outrageous conduct of Maximin caused a mutiny among his troops, which saved the lives of many thousands. The soldiers determined upon the tyrant's death; but such was his amazing strength, that no one dared to

His assassination—Another emperor made by the Prætorians.

encounter him. His guards, however, having been bribed, a number of well-armed men entered his tent at noon, when he was asleep, and slew both him and his son, whom he had made a partner in the empire. Their heads were carried about the camp upon the points of spears; their bodies were thrown out to be devoured by dogs, and then their armies swore allegiance to the Senate and to the emperors, Maximus and Balbinus.

The united armies of the murdered Maximin and of the Senate, returned to Rome, which they entered with the usual ceremonies of a triumph. For some time the two emperors continued to discharge their duties without opposition; but, at length, the Prætorian soldiers becoming jealous of the power of the Senate, and desirous of seeing upon the throne a monarch of their own selection, resolved upon asserting, once more, their supremacy. Taking advantage, accordingly, of the absence of the emperors' guards, who were all permitted to attend the Capitoline games, they marched from their quarters, in a numerous body, to the palace. Surrounding it, they penetrated to the imperial apartments, and seizing both the emperors, dragged them to the camp and slew them. Immediately afterwards, proclaiming

Gordian sole successor to the throne, they settled down, apparently satisfied, in their camp.

This young prince seems to have inherited the virtues of his grandfather, who died in Africa. His first care, upon coming into power, was to endeavor to reconcile the soldiers and the citizens to each other; and, indeed, for the first three or four years of his reign, the empire enjoyed comparative peace. For the wisdom and energy which he displayed, he was, doubtless, very much indebted to his excellent instructor, Misithæus, whose daughter he married, and to whom he seemed always to look for aid and counsel.

During the fifth year of his reign, the empire was furiously invaded by Sapor, King of Persia, who took Antioch, and pillaged Syria and the adjacent provinces. The Goths, also, poured down from the north, attempting to fix their residence in the kingdom of Thrace. Gordian drove them back to their own countries, and likewise defeated the Persians, with a dreadful slaughter. But Misithæus, his counsellor, having been poisoned, as was supposed, by Philip, an Arab, who finally succeeded to the throne, the affairs of the army were not so ably managed, and murmurs began to be heard among his troops. Philip, in the mean time,

contrived to gain his confidence, and, eventually, acquired a degree of power fully equal to his own. But not contented with this, the ambitious man caused his benefactor to be slain, and then securing the suffrages of the soldiers, ascended the throne.

The Senate making no opposition to this proceeding, Philip concluded a peace with the Persians, and marched his army back to Rome. While upon the way, he visited his native country of Arabia, where he founded a city called Philissopolis.

The thousandth year during which the city had now stood, A. D. 248, was completed in the reign of this emperor. This was an occasion, therefore, for celebrating the *Secular games*, the origin of which is not precisely known, though they were observed, with great solemnity, at intervals of about a hundred years. Slaves and strangers were excluded from all participation in them. They continued three days and three nights, during which time sacrifices, music, and dancing, were kept up incessantly on the banks of the Tiber. Upon the present occasion, these games were celebrated with greater splendor than had been given to them by Augustus, or any succeeding emperor; and thus it was that Philip managed,

Lamentable condition of the empire—Another emperor slain.

on his return to Rome, to divert the attention of the people from the fact that he was no better than a usurper and a murderer.

The history of this period, though exceedingly imperfect, exhibits a state of affairs lamentable enough for the Roman empire. Immense as that empire was, and overspread, too, by its own innumerable armies, it was every day becoming an easier prey to barbarous invaders. Its own soldiers, habituated to the business of making and unmaking emperors, were quarrelling among themselves for power, and ready to tear the empire into pieces, in order to satisfy their individual wants. Six emperors had been cut off by the sword during the six months that preceded the reign of Gordian. Gordian had now, also, shared their fate, and there were very few, perhaps, of the generals of Philip who did not feel a disposition to imitate the example of their ambitious master.

During the year following the Secular games, a rebellion broke out among the legions of Mœsia, where a subaltern officer, named Marinus, revolted, and caused himself to be proclaimed emperor. This affair gave Philip much alarm; but he was soon relieved by the intelligence that Marinus had been promptly murdered by the soldiers who had sought to

elevate him. Nevertheless, Philip deeming it necessary to send to Mœsia some one who was able to restore peace and discipline among these rebellious legions, selected for this purpose an intrepid senator, named Decius. Scarcely had Decius reached the army, and assumed the command, than he was compelled to become one of their accomplices. They gave him the choice of the title of emperor or death. Taking the former, and at the same time notifying Philip that he had done so in order to preserve to him the empire, he marched the army towards the confines of Italy. But Philip, distrusting his professions, collected all the forces that he could, and went out to meet him. These forces, however, had proceeded no farther than Verona, when they revolted in favor of Decius, and slew the emperor, as he justly deserved.

Whether Decius would have resigned to Philip the title conferred upon him by the army, it is impossible to tell; it is certain, however, that as soon as his election to the throne had been confirmed by the Senate, he formed a plan of government, which, if he had been permitted to carry it out, might have arrested, somewhat, the rapid decline the empire was now evidently experiencing. But the obstinate dis-

putes between the pagans and Christians interfered so much with the policy which he had adopted, that he felt constrained to check them by permitting a violent persecution of the latter. The death of many thousands of these unhappy beings did not, however, serve in the least the interests of Rome. This persecution was immediately succeeded by a terrible invasion of the Goths, a nation that, eventually, overturned the Roman power, sacked the imperial city, and brought all Italy under their dominion.

Decius was obliged, therefore, to abandon the task of restoring the ancient manners and the majesty of the laws, in order to protect the empire against the furious ravages of the barbarians. He collected, immediately, a powerful army, and, marching out against them, slew thirty thousand in a single battle. But pursuing those who survived, with a determination to drive them forever from the empire, he found himself suddenly plunged into a deep morass, where the enemy having the advantage, he was slain, and his whole army cut to pieces.

The legions, humbled by this terrible defeat, made no objections to the decree of the Senate, which gave the empire to Hostilianus, the young son of Decius, while, at the same time,

it associated with him a prominent general, named Gallus. The whole guidance of affairs was left in the hands of Gallus, who, at once, concluded a shameful treaty with the barbarians. He agreed, not only to leave in their possession all the plunder which they had taken during their invasions, but even suffered them to retain their prisoners, many of whom were persons of great worth and distinction. Besides this, he promised to pay them, annually, a large sum of money on condition that they would make no more incursions into the Roman territory.

The condition of the empire was now deplorable indeed. While Gallus returned to Rome to abandon himself to every species of pleasure, the Goths with whom he had lately made so shameful a peace, renewed their terrible invasions, and, at the same time, the Persians and Scythians committed the most dreadful ravages in Mesopotamia and Syria. In addition to this, a violent persecution was carried on against the Christians; and, to crown the whole, a horrible pestilence broke out in every portion of the empire. Hostilianus, the associate upon the throne, died in the midst of it, but not without suspicion that his death had been brought about through the instrumentality

of Gallus. Then it was that Æmilianus, one of his generals, hoping to relieve his country from some of the misfortunes that had befallen it, collected the scattered forces of the empire, and boldly attacking its barbarous enemies, chased them far beyond its confines.

The troops of Æmilianus, gratified by the liberal share which he granted them of the plunder of their foes, proclaimed him emperor upon the battle-field. But before he and his victorious army had returned to Rome, Gallus, informed of his approach, roused from his intoxicating pleasures, and, gathering together a powerful force, went out to meet him. The hostile armies met in Mœsia. A dreadful battle immediately ensued. Æmilianus was victorious, and Gallus was slain, after a most shameful reign of only two years and four months.

But the reign of Æmilianus was destined to be very short indeed. When Gallus first heard of his approach towards Rome, he sent Valerian, one of his most trusty generals, to bring the legions of Gaul and Germany to his aid. Valerian did not bring them soon enough to save his master; but hearing that Gallus had been slain he determined to revenge him, and accordingly marched upon Æmilianus with such an overwhelming force, that the terrified

soldiers of this general slew their leader, and submitted without resistance to Valerian.

This general, well known through the empire, for his many virtues, his wisdom and undaunted courage, was elevated to the throne by general acclamation. His son, Gallienus, was also declared his successor, and placed in command of the forces necessarily maintained in Gaul, in order to preserve that country from the invasions with which it was constantly threatened by the people of Lower Germany.

Although more than sixty years of age, Valerian commenced the work of reforming the State, with all the energy that had characterized him as a soldier and a leader in the armies of the empire; and so great was the respect in which he was held, and so sensible, too, had the people now become of the importance of some revolution in their manners, that they submitted with comparative cheerfulness to his directions.

But it was now too late to save the empire. Luxury and misrule had done their work; and, in the person of Valerian, Rome was shortly to suffer an indignity which would, ere long, be visited upon herself. All the surrounding nations, like birds of prey, seemed to be hovering around her. Each successive

assault which they made was more daring and more destructive. They came, too, in such immense numbers, and from so many different directions, that the empire seemed to be upon the brink of ruin. Valerian, consequently, finding it impossible to devote himself any longer to the labor of reforming the State, put on his arms and hastened forth to repel the invaders of his country.

Intrusting to his numerous generals the defence of the Danube and the Rhine, he placed himself at the head of a powerful army, with the design of conquering Sapor, king of Persia, whose operations in the East were threatening the greatest injury to the empire. Passing the river Euphrates, he was deceived by the representations of his Prætorian præfect, and imprudently marched to Edessa, where he found himself and his army in a position unfavorable for encountering the Persian monarch. In vain did he endeavor to cut his way through the innumerable hosts that surrounded him. King Sapor not only reduced his army to submission, but made the Roman emperor a captive.

To humiliate, as much as possible, the Roman empire, he compelled its armies, now within his power, to select, as emperor, a vile fugitive of Antioch, named Cyriades; then,

causing the aged emperor, Valerian, to be dressed in his imperial robes and loaded with chains, obliged him to wait about his person like the most abject slave. The cruelties and indignities to which Valerian was exposed seem almost incredible. It is even said that the haughty Sapor never mounted his horse without stepping upon the neck of the kneeling emperor in order to ascend.

Such, for seven years, was the ignominious life which Valerian, the sovereign of the proudest empire in the world, was compelled to lead. His subjects, intent upon their pleasures, lost to all shame, and indifferent to the welfare of the State, suffered the insignia of Roman majesty to be trampled in the dust; and Gallienus, the heartless son of the fallen monarch, secretly rejoicing in a misfortune which gave him possession of the empire, refused to undertake the rescue of his father, saying with barbarous coldness, that "since he had acted like a brave man he was satisfied."

But while Gallienus, indifferent to every thing except his own pleasures, was passing his time in ease and luxury, and diverting himself in the company of buffoons, and infamous persons of every kind, the enemies of the empire were daily acquiring greater strength,

and committing more fearful depredations. Province after province was captured and plundered by the barbarians, and whenever the news thereof was brought to Gallienus, he would only reply to it with a jest.

It is not wonderful that, under such circumstances, aspirants to the dominion of the State should spring up on every hand. No less than thirty, indeed, are said to have contended, about this period, for the supreme power. They are known in history as the Thirty Tyrants, though there is but little interest in what they did. Perceiving, at length, that his personal safety was in jeopardy, Gallienus gave up, for a season, his life of ease and luxury, and took the field against his foes. It was to Milan that he first conducted his legions, for the purpose of contending with one of the above-mentioned tyrants, who, with a successful army, threatened to fall upon Rome. He reached the place occupied by his rival, but before coming to an engagement, his own officers conspired to slay him.

Before expiring, he was prompted to name, as his successor, a general of great valor and distinction, named Claudius. The choice was cheerfully confirmed, both by the soldiers and the Senate, and Claudius entered upon the du-

ties of his exalted station with the confidence and respect of all his subjects. The ambitious leaders who had undertaken to usurp the empire during the life of Gallienus, were promptly subdued; and, then, a powerful army was sent to oppose the Goths, who, swarming all over Greece, had pillaged the famous city of Athens, and destroyed most of the monuments of taste and learning which were there so numerous.

Claudius sent out, at the same time, numerous legions to check the progress of some three hundred thousand barbarians, who had made their way, in ships, along the river Danube, and were spreading terror and devastation on every side. These savage invaders, notwithstanding their superiority in numbers, were completely overthrown, and so many of them were taken prisoners, that every province of the empire was abundantly supplied with slaves.

Not long after this Claudius marched against the revolted Germans, and subdued them with a terrible slaughter. Then he undertook an expedition against Tetricus and Zenobia, the former of whom had usurped the dominion of Gaul and Spain, while the latter had assumed the title of Queen of the East. This enterprise he was not permitted to prosecute. A dreadful pestilence, then prevailing in Pan-

Death of Claudius—Aurelian made emperor.

nonia, attacked him as he was passing with his army through the city of Sirminum, and he died, after a short reign of two years, to the great regret of his subjects, and the irreparable injury of the empire.

Anxious, however, that his great design of giving peace to the empire should be prosecuted, he recommended Aurelian, then master of the horse, as the most deserving of the throne. The Senate made some opposition to this, for Quinctilius, the brother of Claudius, claimed the succession, and was permitted to assume the insignia of royalty. His reign continued, however, but seventeen days, when he withdrew from the cares of government, and put a termination to his own life.

Aurelian, who was now acknowledged emperor, applied himself, immediately, to the prosecution of the designs of Claudius. The obstinate Goths, so long a terror to the empire, were subdued by him. After three engagements, he succeeded in destroying the army of the Germans, who had invaded Italy. And then, having marched westward against the usurper Tetricus, and recovered the provinces of Gaul, Spain, and Britain, he turned his arms against Zenobia, the proud queen of the East, who had long resisted the Ro-

man power, and established an empire of her own.

Syria, Egypt, and other portions of the Roman dominions, acknowledged her supremacy. Her residence, as well as the seat of her government, was the opulent and splendid city of Palmyra, which rose, like an island, from the sandy deserts of Arabia. Here she acquired and maintained a power that struck terror into the neighboring States, the sovereigns of which, in several instances, solicited her friendship. She had, indeed, the ambition to be the mistress of the world, and might, perhaps, have finally succeeded, had she been opposed by a prince of less resolution and ability than Aurelian.

This monarch, already successful in subduing the numerous enemies of the empire, as well as in overthrowing a number of dangerous usurpers, determined to recover from Zenobia the provinces over which she had assumed authority. Marching, therefore, into Asia, at the head of a powerful army, he found the cities and provinces through which he passed, ready to acknowledge their allegiance. But Zenobia, unwilling that he should advance to the very gates of her capital without striking a single blow in defence of her dominions, went forth,

followed by her numerous legions, to give him battle. The hostile armies met first at Antioch, where Zenobia, notwithstanding the multitude of her soldiers, and the talents of her generals, was defeated. Again they met at Emesa, at which place fresh troops had been collected to oppose the Roman emperor. A second time defeated, Zenobia now fled for safety to Palmyra, whither Aurelian followed her, and, after laying siege to the city, made her prisoner. She displayed a great deal of fortitude in the presence of her conqueror, but when her defeated soldiers attributed their misfortunes to her ambition, and demanded her execution, she was so cowardly as to charge her conduct to the counsel of her friends. To save her own life, she sacrificed the lives of those whom she should have protected; and it can never be forgotten that among her innocent victims was the celebrated philosopher Longinus, whose writings are read and admired even at the present day.

Peace having been thus restored to the empire, Aurelian undertook, now, by the most vigorous measures, to restrain the vices which had been, for so many years, permitted to flourish unrestrained. Not contented with punishing licentiousness and injustice, he attempted

to interfere in matters of conscience, and thus caused a vast amount of suffering among the inoffensive Christians. But so barbarous were the punishments which he inflicted upon those who incurred his displeasure, that a conspiracy was finally formed against him by his officers, and he shared the fate so common to his predecessors, at the age of about sixty years, and after a reign of nearly five. Those who had been accessory to his death appeared to regret it sincerely, and united with the legions in praying the Senate to place him in the number of the gods.

During the eight months that followed the death of Aurelian, the empire remained without a sovereign, and, what is very remarkable, nothing occurred to disturb its peace. Various reasons are assigned for this extraordinary interregnum, the most probable of which is, that no one felt a disposition to seek an office whose occupant seldom failed to encounter the assassin's knife. The Senate, though for some time indisposed to make a choice, found themselves, at length, compelled to name some one as commander of the armies now necessary to be led against the Germans, who were beginning their depredations in Gaul, as well as against the King of Persia, who was evidently disposed to

Tacitus chosen emperor.

usurp the empire in the East. Convening for this purpose, they elected, unanimously, the senator Tacitus, a relative of the historian of that name.

Tacitus was very unwilling to accept the proffered dignity, and he even left the city, in order to escape the solicitations of the Senate and the people. But his objections were finally overcome, and although now seventy-five years of age, he accepted the reins of government. His elevation to the throne was considered a great triumph on the part of the Senate, and they even believed that they would now resume their ancient authority, and that Rome, freed from the military despotism under which it had been so long crushed, was destined to be more flourishing than ever.

Tacitus began his reign by punishing, with great severity, those who had been engaged in the murder of Aurelian. There was not, however, the least exhibition of cruelty connected with this, or any of his subsequent acts; and his reign, had it been of sufficient length, would have proved highly beneficial to the Roman empire. But he was too old to endure the fatigues of ruling; and, within six months after assuming the reins of government, he died of a fever with which he was seized,

while marching against the Persians and Scythians, who had invaded the eastern portions of the empire.

For a few months following the death of Tacitus, a civil war seemed to threaten the empire, in consequence of its usurpation by Florianus, the brother of the deceased emperor. Many of the legions promised to maintain his cause, but a powerful opposition made against them by the Senate, under the direction of Probus, a general of great virtue and ability, resulted in the death of Florianus, and saved a vast amount of bloodshed.

The reign of Probus, which continued for a space of more than six years, is remarkable only for a series of wars with the numerous barbarous nations which, for such a length of time, had harassed the empire. The Germans in Gaul suffered terribly at his hands. The Sarmatians, the Goths, and even the Persians, were obliged to submit to his victorious arms. And, in addition to all his victories over the enemies of the State, he suppressed a number of dangerous intestine commotions. But the great restraint which he put upon the licentiousness of his soldiers, irritated them so much that they finally entered into a conspiracy and slew him. Such, however, was their admira-

tion of him as a general, that they erected to his memory a costly monument, with this inscription: "Here lies the emperor Probus, truly deserving the name; a subduer of barbarians, and a conqueror of usurpers."

On the death of Probus, the Roman soldiery resumed the authority which they had, now, for some time, quietly accorded to the Senate. They determined to make an emperor of their own number, and, accordingly, selected Carus, the Prætorian præfect, who, on account of his advanced age, associated with himself his two sons, Carinus and Numerian. His reign, however, as well as that of his two sons, was so short and undistinguished, as scarcely to deserve a mention. He seems to have been a brave and accomplished soldier, for he had hardly ascended the throne, when he was obliged to march out against the Persians, who began again to oppose the empire. The city of Ctesiphon was the scene of a bloody battle between him and the Persian king, over whom he would, doubtless, have obtained a complete victory, had he not been struck dead in his tent shortly after his first success.

Numerian, the younger son of Carus, could not be consoled for the loss of his father, and he, himself, was doubtless assassinated by

Dioclesian chosen emperor.

Arius Aper, the Prætorian præfect, who hoped thus to obtain the empire. But the indignation of the army was so great when they discovered the treachery of Aper, that they refused to give him their support, and chose, for emperor, C. Valerius Dioclesian, a man of mean birth, but a very successful general, who slew Aper with his own hand.

Dioclesian found himself securely seated on the throne, after overcoming Carinus, the remaining son of Carus, whose pretensions to the empire received a very feeble support. Then associating with himself, on the throne, Valerius Maximian, a very rude, though very courageous soldier, he began to repel the barbarians, who had, by this time, resumed their hostilities. Scarcely had quiet been restored in Gaul, when he was obliged to march his armies into Egypt, where Achilleus, the governor, had assumed the title of emperor. Having punished the rebels here, and condemned Achilleus to be devoured by lions, he was compelled to undertake a long and difficult war in Africa, where the legions had revolted and seized upon the public revenues. Difficulties arose about the same time in Britain on account of the usurpation of Carausius, the commander there, who proclaimed himself emperor; and, indeed, on

Dioclesian divides the empire—Persecution of the Christians.

every hand he seemed called upon to defend the empire either against barbarians or pretenders.

Believing that, under these circumstances, it was necessary for him to have other associates in the task of government, besides Maximian, he conferred the title of *Cæsar* upon Galerius, surnamed Armentarius, and upon Constantinus Chlorus, two generals of distinguished merit. To these two Cæsars an equal share of the sovereign authority was given, the emperors assuming towards them the character of father—Dioclesian adopting Galerius, and Maximian adopting Constantius. These four emperors then divided the empire between them. Gaul, Spain, and Britain were intrusted to Constantius; and the Illyrian provinces were placed under the protection of Galerius.

The empire, though now apparently well guarded, was, nevertheless, harassed in a fearful manner by the barbarians of the north, who watched every opportunity to commit their ravages. But the sufferings wrought in this way, were nothing compared with the last persecution of the Christians, which occurred about this time. It exceeded in severity any other that had previously taken place. So great, indeed, was the barbarity with which

Dioclesian and Maximian resign their power.

these inoffensive persons were pursued, that it is related on an ancient inscription, that "the government had effaced the name and superstition of the Christians, and had restored and propagated the worship of the gods."

In the midst of this persecution the two oldest emperors, Dioclesian and Maximian, caused the greatest astonishment by laying aside their imperial robes, and going into private life. Constantius and Galerius agreed, at first, to divide the empire between them, but finding themselves unequal to the task of governing it, even under such an arrangement, they concluded, in imitation of their late colleagues, to take two partners under the title of Cæsars. Maximin and Severus were, accordingly, invested with this dignity.

During the second year of his reign, Constantius went to Britain, and took up his residence at York. Here he continued for some time in the practice of every virtue. A severe sickness overtaking him, he sent for his son, Constantine, to whom he bequeathed the empire, saying "that none but the pious Constantine should succeed him."

Galerius, his colleague, was very much enraged at the appointment of Constantine, and

Maxentius.

declared that Severus should enjoy the authority in his stead. Another pretender named Maxentius immediately arose, and in a short time the empire was filled with the most frightful dissensions.

ROME ABANDONED.

FROM 306 TO 337, A. D.

Division of the empire—Rome taxed like a province—
Rebellion of the people—Attempts to punish them—Six
emperors at the same time—Maximin and Constantine—
Cruelty of Maxentius—Constantine marches against him—
His success throughout Italy—Maxentius opposes him in
person—Vision of Constantine—His great battle with Max-
entius—He enters Rome—The Prætorian guards disbanded
—Constantine at peace—The Goths—Contest with Licinius
—Arius—The Council of Nice—Constantine determines to
found a new capital—Omens—Building of Constantinople—
Rapidity of the work—Rome abandoned—Death of Con-
stantine.

X.

ROME ABANDONED.

It was during the reign of Constantine that the city of Rome, ceasing to be the capital of the empire, was shorn of the glory which it had so long possessed, and reduced to the position of a subordinate to a power which it had originated, and at the head of which it had stood for centuries. This is, then, a very prominent point in its history, and one from which it is interesting to review its past, or proceed to the study of those succeeding events connected with its decay and downfall.

Constantine, at the time of his father's death, was thirty-two years of age, and remarkable for his vigor of body and mind. He is said to have been of a tall and majestic figure, well skilled in the use of arms, affable in his manners, prudent in speech and conduct, and of unbounded ambition. At this time, as already

The divisions of the empire—Rome taxed.

stated, the empire was divided between three or four individuals, who, with more or less claim to authority, exercised the royal prerogative in different quarters. The provinces of Gaul, Spain, and Britain, received Constantine, with acclamation, as the successor of his father Constantius. Galerius claimed the mastery of all the countries lying between the confines of Italy and Syria; and subservient to his interests were Maximin, who was intrusted with the sovereign command of Egypt and Syria, and Severus, who was in possession of Italy and Africa.

The enormous sums of money which the extravagance or avarice of Galerius required, about this period, caused a heavy tax to be laid upon the whole empire. The people of Rome, since the conquest of Macedonia, had been exempted from the burden of personal tax; but Galerius issued a command, from his palace in Nicomedia, that Rome should pay its proportion of the tribute, like any other city of the empire. This insolent attempt to place Rome in the position of a mere province, aroused the indignation of both the Senate and the people. The Prætorian guards, too, looking upon it as an indication of an approaching overthrow of their authority, declared their willingness to re-

sent the insult, and to draw their swords in favor of any person whom the Senate might choose to name as emperor.

A conspiracy, at the head of which were two Prætorian præfects, was at once formed. All those officers who preferred to acknowledge the authority of Severus, emperor of Italy, and of his colleague, or rather his master, Galerius, emperor of Asia, were put to death; and Maxentius, the son of the emperor Maximian, was elevated to the throne by the united voice of the Senate, the Prætorian guards, and the people. The old Maximian, who, it will be remembered, had, some time previous, resigned the empire, now came forth from his retirement, and offered his great military talents in favor of his son Maxentius.

Intelligence of the revolt was carried immediately to Galerius, and in accordance with his advice, Severus marched towards Rome at the head of an immense army, in order to subdue the rebellious city. But when he arrived, a large portion of his troops deserted him, and he was forced to take refuge in Ravenna, where an asylum was offered to him. Thither Maximian marched with a numerous force, and laying siege to the city, succeeded, at length, in making Severus his prisoner. The unfortunate

Attempt to punish the rebellious city.

man was taken to Rome, and, not long afterwards, put to death.

Maximian, now hoping to strengthen the cause of Maxentius by an alliance with Constantine, who was in quiet possession of the western provinces, crossed the Alps with his daughter Fausta, whom he offered to give in marriage to this emperor. Constantine accepted the offer; but, while he thus appeared to espouse the cause of Rome and of the Senate, he determined to remain, for the present, a spectator of the contest which was inevitable between Galerius and Maxentius.

In the mean time, Galerius, intrusting the defence of the Danube to his friend Licinius, placed himself at the head of a powerful army, and marched towards Rome, for the purpose of revenging the death of Severus, and punishing the rebellious city. He found, however, that it was impossible for him to obtain a passage through Italy. Every city sent out its hosts to oppose his progress, and he was forced to make an ignominious retreat, or incur the risk of sharing the fate of Severus.

Reaching his capital in safety, and still hoping to accomplish his purpose, he immediately appointed Licinius to the throne rendered vacant by the death of Severus. But

Six emperors at the same time.

Maximin, the governor of Egypt and Syria, having been informed of this appointment, was filled with jealousy, and Galerius was compelled to grant to him also the title of emperor. Maximian, the father of Maxentius, had likewise resumed the imperial emblems which he had once laid aside, and thus the affairs of the Roman world were administered, at the same time, by six different emperors: in the West, by Constantine, Maximian, and Maxentius; and in the East, by Galerius, Severus, and Licinius.

Maxentius, relieved, by the retreat of Galerius, of the anxiety which he felt for the permanency of his power, now became impatient of the control of his father, Maximian, whose love of authority seemed to increase with his many years. After a vain trial of every expedient to get rid of the old man's interference, he finally appealed to the Prætorian guards, who decided that Maximian was not the legal sovereign of Italy, and compelled him to leave the country. He went first to Illyricum, but being driven thence by Galerius, he departed to the court of his son-in-law, Constantine. Here he was well received, and here he might have lived in peace, had not his unconquerable love of power prompted him to an act

as absurd as it was detestable. Taking advantage, at one time, of the absence of Constantine, who was compelled to lead his army against the hostile Franks, he caused a report to be spread that Constantine was dead, and thereupon ascended the throne, and seized upon the public treasure. But his usurped authority was of short duration. Constantine soon reappeared, and Maximian, unable to retain the imperial power, fled, but was soon after captured and put to death.

Thus fell the oldest of these six contemporary emperors. Galerius was not destined to survive him long: he died, four years after his retreat from Italy, of a loathsome disease which rendered him an object too disgusting to behold. His death occasioned a jealousy, at once, between Maximin and Severus, who both coveted the vast dominions which he left. They made preparations to decide their claims by an appeal to arms, but finally agreed to divide the territories governed by Galerius. They, however, became enemies. Licinius connected himself with Constantine, and Maximin entered into a secret alliance with Maxentius.

It was not long before the people of Rome began to suffer at the hands of Maxentius almost all the horrors that had been inflicted up-

Cruelty of Maxentius—His insolent conduct towards his colleagues.

on them by their former tyrants. Towards the Senate, especially, did he manifest an implacable hatred. He extorted from them immense sums of money, took pleasure in exposing them to insult and contempt, and even caused a great number of them to be put to death. On a certain occasion, he gave up the people to be slaughtered by the Prætorian guards, and multitudes fell in the very heart of the city, not by the arrows and spears of the barbarians, but by the arms of their fellow-citizens.

But it was not Rome, alone, that suffered from his brutality. All Italy, delivered up to the licentiousness and plunder of his merciless troops, was filled with indescribable wretchedness. The splendid villas of unoffending noblemen were bestowed upon his military favorites, and the wives of distinguished senators were given to his soldiers. He, himself, inclosed within the walls of his palace, and protected by his inhuman legions, passed the time in debauchery, and boasted that the emperors Constantine, Maximin, and Licinius, were his lieutenants, to whom he had intrusted the defence of his distant provinces.

The empty boasts of a drunken braggadocio received but little attention from these princes of the empire; but, when, at length, he caused

Constantine marches against Maxentius.

the statues of Constantine to be thrown down, under pretence of revenging the death of his father Maximian, whom he himself had persecuted and banished from Italy, he took a step which resulted in his destruction.

Constantine did not immediately collect his armies and march forth to Rome to punish Maxentius, but simply sent ambassadors to obtain from him some apology for his conduct. This, however, he refused to give, and even began to collect a powerful army, with which he threatened to overrun Gaul, and force Constantine to surrender his dominions.

Constantine, in the mean time, having been strongly urged by the Senate and people to deliver Rome from this detestable tyrant, determined to march his legions into the heart of Italy. This he knew would be a very difficult undertaking, for his armies were only about half as numerous as those of Maxentius, and it was necessary for him, moreover, to leave a large number of legions to defend the Rhine. He was sure, however, that the troops of Rome, enervated by indulgence and luxury, and long unused to war, would need to be vastly superior in numbers, in order to compete with the hardy veterans of Gaul. Setting out, then, at the head of about forty thousand soldiers, he

marched to encounter an enemy that consisted of more than a hundred and fifty thousand.

Before Maxentius had received intelligence of his coming, Constantine had already crossed the Alps, and appeared before the city of Susa, over the high walls of which his soldiers clambered, amidst a shower of stones and arrows, and, with sword and fagot, compelled the garrison of Maxentius to yield. From Susa, he directed his course to the plains of Turin, where numerous legions had been sent to meet him. Falling upon these with unexpected fury, he succeeded, not simply in putting them to flight, but in cutting them to pieces, in a most fearful manner. Then he took possession of Milan, and, indeed, of all the cities of Italy between the Alps and the river Po.

With a view to making his entrance into Rome still more certain, he delayed his march thitherward, for the purpose of freeing himself from an immense army which held the city of Verona and the province of Venetia. In order to do this, he was obliged to undertake the siege of Verona, which, on account of the peculiar position of the place, was a very difficult and dangerous task. His first attempts were unsuccessful; but the general of Maxentius was finally defeated by the superior skill of Con-

Maxentius induced to oppose Constantine.

stantine, and Verona surrendered, and its garrison became prisoners of war.

Although thus far at every step successful, Constantine had much to do, for Maxentius could still command soldiers and treasures almost unlimited. This miserable sovereign had, as yet, paid but little attention to the rapid progress of his fortunate rival, and relying, probably, upon his boundless resources and the valor of the Prætorian guards, he continued to pass his time in the pleasures and amusements to which he had been so long devoted. But his officers succeeded, at last, in arousing him to the danger of his position; and in this they were not a little aided by the indignant clamors of the people, who began to assemble about the palace gates, and loudly charge the emperor with cowardice and indolence. They coupled his name with every execrable epithet, and even made the circus resound with their bitter reproaches.

Thus induced to make a desperate effort in behalf of his tottering power, Maxentius raised another powerful army, and, taking command of it in person, went forth to meet his enemy. Constantine, if we may believe the historian Eusebius, felt, now, the utmost confidence that Rome would fall, without difficulty, into his

Vision of Constantine.

hands. He had, in the course of his march, according to that historian, seen a vision, in which a bright cross appeared in the heavens, bearing, in the Greek language, this inscription: "IN THIS OVERCOME!" Perplexed by a circumstance so extraordinary, he had recourse to the learned men around him, both Pagan and Christian. The former pronounced it an inauspicious omen, portending the most unfortunate events; the latter maintained that it was an indication that his cause would receive the protection of Heaven.

Disposed to adopt the interpretation most favorable to himself, Constantine made a public profession of Christianity; and, causing a royal standard to be made, resembling the cross which he had seen in the heavens, commanded it to be carried before him, in the wars, as an ensign of victory and celestial protection. Thus, the first of the Roman emperors who had abandoned paganism for Christianity, he now began his march towards Rome, expecting that the cowardly Maxentius, shutting himself up within its walls, would compel him to besiege and, perhaps, destroy this great and magnificent city.

How great was the surprise of Constantine, when, arriving within nine miles of Rome, he saw, stretched out all along the plains which

His great battle with Maxentius.

bordered the Tiber, the innumerable hosts of Maxentius waiting to receive him. They were well arranged for fighting, but, with their backs to the river, it was impossible for them to fly. Constantine, surveying the ground with his well-trained eye, disposed his troops for battle. The post of honor and of danger was selected for himself; and, putting on his most splendid armor, he charged, in person, the cavalry of the enemy. Such was the vigor of his attack, that they speedily gave way, and left the infantry wholly unprotected. Legion after legion of these now began to desert the detested Maxentius, leaving the Prætorian guards almost alone to defend his cause. The guards, who could not hope for any mercy from Constantine, fought with desperation, and fell, on all sides, by hundreds and by thousands. Finding, at length, that death was inevitable, the broken troops of Maxentius fled precipitately into the river, whose surface was soon covered by their lifeless bodies. Maxentius himself, hoping to escape to the city, attempted to cross the Milvian bridge; but the structure, unable to support the crowd that accompanied him, gave way, and he fell to the bottom of the stream, whence his body was recovered on the following day, and exposed to the people.

Constantine entered the city and took possession of the imperial palace ; but his profession of Christianity did not prevent him from putting to death the two sons of Maxentius, and carefully extirpating his whole race. He did not, however, exhibit, otherwise, any unnecessary cruelty. The Roman people demanded of him a great many victims, but he refused to punish any who were not fully convicted of the charges brought against them. Persons who had been unjustly banished or imprisoned during the preceding reign, were restored to their rights. The Senate received the promise that they should enjoy again their ancient dignity and privileges ; and, as a grateful return, they granted to Constantine the first rank among the three emperors who now governed the Roman world. Games and festivals were also instituted in honor of his victory, and numerous edifices were dedicated to him.

Although Constantine spent but a very short time in Rome, he succeeded in correcting many abuses which had been encouraged by his predecessor. The Prætorian guards, whose numbers and privileges were greatly increased by Maxentius, had resumed all their former haughtiness. No sooner had Constantine taken possession of the city, than he caused the remnant

The Prætorian guards disbanded.

of these soldiers to be banished to the frontiers of the empire; and the fortified camp which they had so long occupied, to be levelled to the ground.

It was not long after Constantine's entrance into Italy, that the death of Maximin reduced the number of the Roman emperors to three. Not discouraged by the fate of Maxentius, with whom he was in alliance, Maximin undertook to increase his dominions by a war upon Licinius, the Illyrian emperor. His immense army was cut to pieces, and he, himself, within three months after, died, probably, from the chagrin attending the failure of his enterprise.

Although the respective dominions of the remaining emperors, Constantine and Licinius, were thus very much augmented, they were jealous of each other's power, and willing to find some pretext for testing each other's strength. It was not long before Constantine found sufficient reason for war, in the indignities which had been offered to the statues erected to his honor along the frontiers of Italy. Two battles were subsequently fought; one, near Cibalis, a city of Pannonia, and another on the plain of Mardia in Thrace. Licinius lost in both, and sued for peace. It was granted to

him, but his dominions were confined to Thrace, Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt.

A peace of eight years, between these two jealous emperors, ensued. During this time Constantine employed himself in amending the laws already established, and in enacting such others as he deemed essential to the public good. In the mean time the Goths, who had rapidly increased in strength and numbers, incurred his displeasure. His legions were sent against them, and after a number of bloody battles, they were compelled to purchase an ignominious peace. Not contented with this, he resolved to punish other barbarous nations that had invaded the Roman territories; and to this end, repairing the bridge built by Trajan across the Danube, he took a terrible revenge upon the enemies of the empire.

The great success which followed the arms of Constantine in these wars upon the barbarians, strengthened him, no doubt, in his determination to become the sole ruler of the Roman empire. Licinius, his rival, was now becoming advanced in age, and there was a strong probability that he would make but a feeble resistance to an army fresh from the field of victory. Without a shadow of provocation, Constantine prepared to march against him;

but the old emperor, though startled by the intelligence, resolved that he would make a desperate defence of the comparatively small dominions which still remained to him.

Summoning, therefore, the great energy that had characterized his earlier days, he collected, with incredible promptness, an immense army of a hundred and fifty thousand foot, and fifteen thousand horse, together with a fleet of three hundred and fifty galleys. Ascertaining that the army of Constantine, somewhat inferior in numbers to his own, was approaching the city of Hadrianople, he constructed a fortified camp in the vicinity of that place. According to his expectations, Constantine directed his march towards him. For several days the hostile armies remained in sight of each other, with scarcely any exhibition of the enmity subsisting between their respective leaders. Licinius was finally drawn from his advantageous position, and Constantine, seizing the opportunity, fell upon him with such fury that thirty-two thousand of his men were slain, his camp taken, and he himself compelled to fly for refuge within the walls of Byzantium.

Determined to improve the advantage thus acquired, Constantine gave directions that his fleet should force the passage of the Hellespont,

which was under the protection of the powerful armament of Licinius. A naval engagement accordingly took place, which at the end of two days resulted in the destruction of one hundred and fifty of the vessels of Licinius, together with five thousand of his men. Artificial mounds of earth were then constructed around the walls of Byzantium, and from the towers erected thereupon, stones and darts were thrown upon the inhabitants.

Licinius, escaping from the city, fled to Chalcedon in Asia. But determined not to surrender to his rival, he raised an army of sixty thousand men, which he conveyed to Chrysopolis, on the Bosphorus, opposite to Byzantium. Constantine, crossing over the strait in small vessels, gave him battle, and after slaughtering twenty-five thousand troops, forced him to sue for peace. This was granted on condition that he should resign all his pretensions to the throne. Having accepted the terms, Licinius was permitted to take the hand of Constantine, and was subsequently sent to Thessalonica, where he was soon after put to death, under pretence that he had entered into a conspiracy with the barbarians.

The Christian Church, which, previous to the triumphs of Constantine, had been harassed

only by the persecutions of paganism, no sooner found itself firmly established, than it became divided against itself. Arius, a presbyter of Alexandria, and a man of great learning and eloquence, opposing the doctrine that the Son of God was co-eternal with the Father, incurred the indignation of his bishop, and was excommunicated by a council of the clergy. Retiring into Palestine, he succeeded by means of his extraordinary talents in making many converts to his views, among whom was the distinguished historian, Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia.

Torn by intestine animosity and dissensions, the Church of Christ presented, thus early, an illustration of the evils of intolerance, as well as a striking evidence of human fallibility. Constantine, although unskilled in religious matters, perceived, with more shrewdness than the contending Fathers, that a "house divided against itself cannot stand." Convening, therefore, a council of more than three hundred bishops at Nice, he attended in person, and ordering their mutual complaints to be presented to him, he took the papers, and, in the presence of the assembled clergy, committed them to the flame. This example of moderation and forbearance was, however, attended by no good

Constantine determines to found a new capital.

effect. A large majority of the council agreed to excommunicate Arius as a heretic, and he was banished into Illyricum. Some time afterwards, Constantine insisted upon receiving Arius again into communion, and a day was fixed for the solemnity ; but, before the day arrived, Arius died, according to some, by poison, and according to others, in answer to the prayers of his enemies.

While Constantine was laboring zealously in behalf of Christianity, he did not forget the other interests of the empire. Intent upon exercising his troops, and upon regulating the affairs of the provinces, he had, since the capture of Rome, been constantly moving through different parts of his dominions, making his occasional place of residence, sometimes, Treves, and at other times, Milan, Aquileia, Sirmium, Naissus, or Thessalonica. Being now the master of the world, and without a rival, he resolved to build a capital for his empire more central than Rome, and in every respect equal to that famous city.

The spot which he first chose for this purpose is said to have been Chalcedon, in Asia Minor ; but, in laying out the ground plan, we are informed that an eagle caught up the line, and flew with it to Byzantium, the city which he

had besieged during the contest with Licinius. In another account of the founding of the new capital, it is related that one night, while Constantine was sleeping within the walls of Byzantium, the tutelar genius of the city, a venerable matron bowed down with years and infirmities, appeared to him in a vision, and was suddenly transformed into a blooming maid, whom he adorned with all the emblems of imperial greatness. Interpreting this as an indication from Heaven that Byzantium should be the capital of his empire, it is said that he immediately began the work of enlarging and adorning it.

The city was named Constantinople in honor of the emperor, the genius and labor of whose subjects, throughout all the empire, were called into requisition in order to make it the metropolis of the world. An incredible amount of money was expended in rearing its prodigious walls; and the quarries and forests of the neighboring region were stripped to furnish materials for its palaces and temples. The cities of Greece and Asia were robbed of their choicest monuments, the statues of their gods, the trophies of their heroes and the finest productions of their artists, in order to add splendor to the abode of the future rulers of the

The rapidity of the work.

empire. Schools of learning, churches, public halls, theatres, circuses, baths, and places for every species of amusement were established.

The work of building was carried on with extraordinary rapidity; and the walls, porticoes, and principal edifices, were completed in a very few years. When all was finished, the city was dedicated in the most solemn manner; and afterwards, on the annual return of its birthday, the image of Constantine, placed upon a car, and accompanied by a great procession, was carried through the Hippodrome, where every honor was paid to the founder of the SECOND, OR NEW ROME.

The ancient capital was not entirely stripped of its inhabitants in order to people this new metropolis. Every thing was, however, done by Constantine to encourage the removal thither of the noble and wealthy families of the empire. He offered to his favorites the magnificent palaces which he had built in every quarter of the city; and, gradually, the opulent senators of Rome, and of the eastern provinces, adopted the new residence of the emperor. The advantages to be derived from an abode at the seat of government brought people, at length, in crowds; and finally it became neces-

Death of Constantine.

sary to extend the limits of the city, in order to accommodate its increasing population. Constantinople, in short, concentrated the wealth and nobility of the empire, and Rome, the ancient mistress of the world, sank from her supremacy.

The Goths finding that the old capital had been abandoned, fell upon it with redoubled fury; and although Constantine was still able to punish their incursions, it was very evident that the day was not distant when, not Rome alone, but the empire would be their prey.

Decay seemed to be written upon every thing; even the emperor, although congratulated by ambassadors from Ethiopia and Persia upon the peace and prosperity of his government, was gradually losing the esteem of those around him. The close of his life was sullied by several acts of cruelty; and, after a reign of thirty years, he died a vain old man, whose chief employment was to adorn his person in costly robes of silk, and to study all the arts resorted to in order to conceal the ravages of time.

PART III.

QUESTIONS.

I.—THE BEGINNING OF THE EMPIRE.

Page 15. What happened upon the death of Cæsar? Who usurped the government? What were they called? What took place among the triumvirs?

16. What is said of Marc Antony? What war was brought about by Antony? What is said of the battle of Actium?

17. What incident is related in connection with the death of Antony? What effect had his death upon Cleopatra?

18. What plan was laid by Octavius? How did Cleopatra determine to defeat it? Relate the circumstances of her death?

19. What was the condition of Rome at this time? What the extent of its dominions? What had it done for art? What was the extent and population of the city?

20. What is said of its treasures, etc.? Of its poets? What change took place in the conduct of Octavius?

21. How did he show his moderation? What effect did it produce? What title was conferred upon him, and how was he otherwise honored? How did these honors affect him?

22. In what way did he check immorality? How did he become a favorite among the people? What anecdote is related of him?

23. What is said of his treatment of Cinna? What of his military skill?

24. At what did he aim in his wars? Which was the

most obstinate of his wars? Which the most fatal? How long did his reign continue?

25. What remarkable event took place fourteen years before his death? In what year of the city did this event occur? What is said of the domestic affairs of Augustus? How did he dispose of his family?

26. Whom did he constitute as his successor? What was one of his last works? Where did he die? What is related of his death?

27. What is said of his will? How was he honored? What is said of his government? When did Tiberius begin to rule? How old was he?

28. What is said of him at the beginning of his reign? What of his patience and moderation? How was he at first regarded? How did the army behave when Augustus died?

29. Whom did they choose as emperor? What did Germanicus do? How was Tiberius affected by his conduct? How did he succeed in recalling him to Rome?

30. What honors were paid to him? How was he received in Rome? What were the feelings and conduct of Tiberius?

31. What his design in regard to Germanicus? What is said of some of the Roman provinces? Over which of them was Germanicus appointed governor? Who was made governor of Syria? What instructions were given to Piso?

32. How did Germanicus proceed? What was the conduct of Piso? How was this conduct returned? Where did Germanicus go? What happened to him?

33. What were his suspicions? What further happened to him, and how did Piso act? Did Piso finally succeed? What message did Germanicus send to the emperor, when about to die?

34. How was the news of his death received at Rome? What report was there spread, and what was its effect? How was Agrippina received? What is said of the burial of Germanicus?

35. What was the conduct of Tiberius? What the end of Piso and his wife? Whom did Tiberius take as a colleague? How did he now conduct himself?

36. What is said of Sejanus? To what did he aspire? What difficulties were in his way? What was his first act?

37. How did he propose to ruin the children of Germanicus? Did Tiberius accede to his wishes? Where did he go? How did he conduct himself?

38. What was the course of Sejanus? How did he plot against the children of Germanicus? What became of them? Who, finally, opposed Sejanus?

39. How did Tiberius punish him? What effect had the downfall of Sejanus upon the people? How was he treated when led to execution?

40. How was his body treated—and what became of his family? Were the people relieved by the death of Sejanus? What did Tiberius now do? Where was he during this time? Was he, himself, free from suffering?

41. What is said of his afflictions? How was he regarded? Whom did he select as his successor? How did he show his propensity to dissemble?

42. What happened while he was reading the acts of the Senate? How did Caligula now act? What cause of terror arose? How was Caligula affected? How was he relieved? What great event took place during the eighteenth year of the reign of Tiberius? What did Pilate write to Tiberius?

43. What was the Senate ordered to do? How did they act? What was then the course of Tiberius?

II.—CALIGULA AND CLAUDIUS.

Page 47. What was now the condition of Rome? What is said of the Senate? Of the people? Of the soldiers?

48. Of the reign of Caligula? How was he received at Rome? How far did the joy extend? What was his conduct at first?

49. What corrections did he make? How did he punish

Pilate? What other evils did he correct? In what way was he honored? How long did this reign of virtue continue?

50. To what did it give way? How has he been excused? What was his first act of cruelty? What others are related?

51. How did he exhibit his vanity? What is said of the temple erected to himself? How did he maintain his pretensions to divinity?

52. What is said of his prodigality? Of his table and baths? Of his favorite horse? Of other follies? Of the bridge of Puteoli?

53. To what did he resort when his fortune was expended?

54. What means did he adopt to fill his coffers? How were the people affected by his conduct? How were these conspiracies arrested?

55. What is said of his expedition against the Germans and Britons?

56. How was he received by the Senate? What is said of Cassius Cherea? Who conspired with him against Caligula?

57. What was the plan of the conspirators? What was its success? How long did Caligula reign?

58. What became of his family? Of the money that bore his name? What did the Senate undertake? What is related concerning the discovery of Claudius?

59. How was he made emperor? What was his age when he began to reign? What is said of him? How did he begin his reign?

60. What public works did he undertake? How did he treat the provinces? What foreign conquests did he undertake?

61. With what success? How was he received on his return? What happened, in the mean time, in Britain? What is said of the Silures?

62. Relate what is said of the war with Caractacus. What became of Caractacus?

63. How was he regarded in Rome? How treated by

Claudius? What was the result of the victory of Ostorius? What followed? How did the emperor now behave? To whom did he leave his affairs?

64. How were things managed by his advisers? What was the result? How was Claudius affected by the revolt of Camillus? What followed the desertion of Camillus by his troops?

65. Relate the story of Cecina Petus.

66. What cruelties resulted from the terrors of Claudius? What is related of his unconcern?

67. What occurred between Claudius and Messalina? What was the fate of Messalina? What public declaration did Claudius make? How did he keep his resolution?

68. What was the first undertaking of Agrippina? In what manner did she succeed? How did she treat Britannicus?

69. What obstacle was in the way of her ambition? In what way was it removed? What was now the condition of Claudius?

70. How was Agrippina's jealousy still more aroused? What did she resolve to do? How did she effect her purpose?

III.—THE LAST OF THE CÆSARS.

Page 75. What was the condition of the empire when Nero ascended the throne? What was the population of the city? What is related of Nero's mother?

76. By what means was Nero made emperor? How did he, at first, treat Agrippina? What advantage did she take of her power?

77. Who opposed her? And with what success? What is said of the first five years of Nero's reign? How was Agrippina affected? What did she determine to do? What was the result of Nero's opposition to her?

78. What threats did she make? How was he affected by them? In what way did he defeat Agrippina? To what did she then resort? How was she again thwarted?

79. What change now took place in Nero? What was his conduct, and how was it regarded?

80. How did he treat his wife Octavia? Whom did he then marry? What was the conduct of Agrippina? To what was he instigated by Poppea? How did he torment his mother? What attempts did he make to destroy her?

81. How was his plan regarded by Seneca and Burrhus? How was his horrible purpose finally accomplished? Relate the circumstances of Agrippina's death.

82. What took place in the Senate? What is said of Nero's love of music?

83. Of his fondness for chariot-driving? Of his musical performances? How was he received by the people?

84. Relate what is said of his first exhibition after leaving Rome. What is said of his journey through Greece?

85. How was he received at Naples? Describe his return to Rome. When these amusements failed to satisfy, what did he next do?

86. Of what acts of cruelty was he now guilty? What account is given of his burning the city?

87. Whom did he accuse of this enormity? What was the result of this base accusation? What distinguished apostles suffered death at this time?

88. In what way did Nero endeavor to establish his innocence? What is said of the rebuilding of Rome? Describe his new palace. Upon whom had Nero chiefly exercised his cruelty?

89. What followed the discovery of a conspiracy against him? What distinguished men fell victims to his wrath? What is related of Seneca in connection with this conspiracy? How did Nero treat Seneca?

90. Relate the circumstances attending the death of Seneca. What were the further consequences of this conspiracy?

91. What happened in the provinces of the empire? What occurred among the Britons? What took place among the Jews?

92. What is further related of Nero's enormities? How were they finally regarded? Who first declared against him?

93. Who was proclaimed emperor? Where was Nero, and how was he affected by the revolt? What afflicted him most in the manifestoes of Vindex? What did he do in order to have revenge? On returning to Rome, what was his course?

94. How did he behave in the Senate? What intelligence reached Rome soon after? How was Nero affected by it? What piece of extravagance did he contemplate?

95. How did he prepare to meet his enemies? What other intelligence arrived in the midst of these preparations? In what condition did Nero find himself?

96. How did he seek to destroy himself? What is related of his flight? What was his conduct at the house of Phaon? What was Phaon's advice to him?

97. What was the action of the Senate? What effect had it upon Nero? How did he behave? In what way was his death accomplished?

98. At what age did he die? How was the news of his death received at Rome?

IV.—TRANSIENT RULERS.

Page 101. What followed the reign of Nero? What was the character of Galba? How was he affected by his nomination to the throne?

102. What occurred upon his approaching the city? What is said of his reforms?

103. What name did he acquire; and what was said of him? What circumstance seemed to prove his love of money? What may be said in his defence?

104. What jealousies sprang up in the armies? What was done by the armies in Germany? How did he hope to strengthen his position? What is here said of Otho?

105. Whom did Galba adopt as his successor? How did

Otho scheme for the throne ; and with what success ? What followed the news of this revolt, and the report of Otho's death ?

106. Relate the circumstances attending the death of Galba. At what age did he die ; and how long did he reign ? How was Otho treated by the Senate ? What effect had this treatment ?

107. What were some of his first acts ? What is related of Vitellius and the legions of Germany ?

108. What effect had the news of this revolt ? How did Otho feel in regard to it ? What offer did he make to his rival ? What course did he then pursue ?

109. Describe the conflicts between the armies of Otho and Vitellius. What incident is here related ?

110. What effect did it produce upon Otho ? What did he say to his officers and soldiers ?

111. Give an account of his death. How was the news of it received by his soldiers ?

112. Where was Vitellius all this time ? What action was taken by the Senate ? What were the words of Vitellius on passing the field where his army had recently triumphed ? How did he enter Rome ?

113. To whom did he intrust affairs ? To what did he abandon himself ? What is said of his meals, and mode of eating ? What was the cost of his table for four months ?

114. What effect had his prodigality ? How did he replenish his coffers ? How did he treat those who loaned him money ? What instances are mentioned of his gross wickedness ?

115. What effect had his conduct ? How did he become exasperated against the astrologers ? How, and why, did he cause his mother's death ? What was the result of his mad behavior ?

116. What is said of Vespasian ? How was he made emperor ? What did he resolve to do on accepting the empire ?

117. What was the result of his contest with Vitellius ?

How did Vitellius receive the news of his own defeat? What did he conclude to do?

118. By whom was Rome attacked? What festival was in progress during the attack? What was the conduct of Vitellius?

119. By whom was he taken? How was he treated by the soldiers? How by the people? In what manner was he put to death? At what age did he die, and what the length of his reign?

V.—VESPASIAN AND HIS SONS.

Page 123. Who succeeded Vitellius in the empire? Where was he when chosen emperor? When was he born? When did he first attract notice?

124. What offices did he receive under Nero? What scheme was he obliged to abandon, by going to Rome? To whom did he intrust it? How was he received at Rome?

125. What is said of Titus? What was the condition of the Jews when he attacked them? What then became of their factions? With what success did they attack the Romans?

126. What did Titus now do? How did he treat the inhabitants? How did they receive his offers? What course did he now pursue?

127. Who was Josephus? On what mission was he sent? With what result? What now took place? How did Titus then proceed?

128. How was Jerusalem finally taken?

129. How were the Jews affected by the destruction of the temple? What became of the city? How long had the siege continued? How many perished with it? How was Titus received at Rome?

130. To what did he and his father apply themselves? What public improvements did they make? How did Vespasian distinguish himself? What is said of his patronage of learning?

131. What was the condition of the public treasury when Vespasian began his reign? What is said of the devotion of Vespasian to the wants of the people? Give an account of his death. Who succeeded him upon the throne?

132. What had been the character of Titus? What appellation did he acquire? To what did he apply himself?

133. What is related of his devotion to the good of others? What dreadful events occurred during his reign?

134. What was the effect of his example? By what was his death probably occasioned? What did he declare when about to die?

135. How did the people regard Domitian? How did he manage to deceive them? In what did he find his chief pleasure? How did he amuse himself in private?

137. Who was the first object of his malevolence? What is said of his expedition against the Catti? How did he treat Agricola?

138. Give an account of his expedition against the Sarmatians. What is said of his love of applause?

139. What instances of his cruelty are mentioned? How was his cruelty augmented? In what way did he punish those accused of treason?

140. What account is given of his attempts to frighten the Senate?

141. In what way did he guard himself against surprise? How were his precautions rendered unavailing? Relate the circumstance which led to a conspiracy against him.

142. How was his death accomplished?

VI.—EXTENSION OF THE EMPIRE.

Page 147. How was the Senate affected by the death of Domitian? Who was declared emperor? How did the choice prove fortunate?

148. To what was Nerva indebted for his elevation? To what did he devote his short reign? What is related of the Prætorian bands?

149. How did their conduct affect Nerva? Whom did he choose as an associate in the government? What is said of Nerva's death? What is said of Trajan and his family?

150. What did he do when a lad? What was the effect of his early training? How did he behave when made emperor? What is said of his journey to Rome?

151. What celebrated philosopher now lived in Rome? Give the substance of Plutarch's letter to Trajan.

152. How old was Trajan when he ascended the throne? Relate the principal reforms which he undertook.

153. What did he say concerning law-makers? What was the only thing exceptionable in his character? Give an account of the Dacians.

154. With what success did he attack them? How did Trajan display his humanity? What further difficulties had he with the Dacians?

155. What prodigious structure did he erect? Of what service was it? What was the result of Trajan's conquests?

156. How was he instrumental in persecuting the Christians? Who were among the numbers put to death? How were these persecutions terminated? How was the peace of the empire disturbed?

157. Give an account of Trajan's victories.

158. After his victories, what did he do? What is said of his death? How was the news of it received at Rome? Who succeeded Trajan?

159. What was Hadrian's conduct on reaching Rome? What honors were paid to Trajan? What was Hadrian's character? How was he regarded by Trajan?

160. How was he made the successor of Trajan? How was his nomination received? In what manner did he render himself popular?

161. Relate what is said of his moderation and clemency. In what respect did he differ from his predecessor? How did he diminish the extent of the empire?

162. What was his plan to get rid of his enemies? What

occasioned a conspiracy against him? How did this conspiracy terminate?

163. How did he perform his famous journey? Why was it undertaken? What is said of his visit to Gaul and Germany? Of his visit to Britain?

164. Of his visit to Spain? Of his visit to Athens?

165. Of his visit to Sicily and Africa? Of his second journey to Greece? What loss did he suffer during this journey? What is related concerning his grief for Antinous?

166. What did he do for the Jews? How did they repay his kindness? How did he punish them? How long did his travels continue?

167. How was he received at Rome? What reforms did he make? Of what was he particularly fond? Of whom envious? What instances of his injustice are related?

168. Whom did he adopt as his heir, and on what conditions? What is said of his sufferings and death?

VII.—THE ANTONINES.

Page 173. How did Antoninus use his power? What surname was conferred upon him? What is said of his reign? At what age did he begin to reign?

174. What were some of his first acts? How were they regarded? How did he treat the Christians? What did he think of war?

175. How did he deal with the barbarians? What was his treatment of learned men? What was particularly admirable in Antoninus?

176. What did he do when near his end? How did Marcus Aurelius act when he came in possession of the empire? What honors were paid to the memory of Antoninus?

177. How long did the two emperors reign conjointly? What happened soon after their reign began? What agreement was made between the two emperors?

178. What was the conduct of Verus during this cam-

paign? How did his generals proceed? What was their success?

179. Of what mean act was Verus now guilty? How did Aurelius treat him? What is said of the return of Verus to Rome?

180. What calamities befel Rome? To whom were these calamities attributed? What measures were adopted by Aurelius?

181. What success had he against the barbarians? What account is given of the death of Verus? What was the conduct of Aurelius on this occasion?

182. How were the barbarians finally subdued? How did Aurelius now employ himself? How were his occupations interrupted?

183. How did Aurelius recruit his army and replenish his treasury? What became of his enemies?

184. Give an account of the miraculous deliverance of the Roman army.

185. What benefits resulted from it to the Christians? Relate what is said of the conspiracy of Avidius Casius?

186. How did Aurelius receive the news of this conspiracy? What did he say in regard to Avidius?

187. How was this conspiracy defeated? How were those concerned in it treated?

188. What reply did Aurelius make to those who blamed him for his generosity? What account is given of the journey of Aurelius into the East? How was he received on his return?

189. How did he enter Rome? Whom did he name as his successor? How did he then employ his time? What work did he write?

190. What people now invaded the empire? What is said of his preparations to attack them? What was his success? What occurred during the third year of this war?

191. What was the chief cause of uneasiness to him when

about to die? What advice did he leave to be given to his son? At what age did he die? How long had he reigned?

VIII.—THE PRÆTORIAN GUARDS.

Page 197. How old was Commodus when he began to reign? How did he, at first, behave? How did he prosecute the war with the barbarians? To what influence did he, by degrees, become subject?

198. What induced him to abandon the campaign against the barbarians? What was the condition of the empire for about three years? What attempt was made upon the life of Commodus?

199. What was the result of this attempt? Who suffered innocently in consequence of this conspiracy? What is related of Perennis?

200. What became of him? What resulted from the suspicions of Commodus? What was the consequence of his suspicions? Who was Cleander?

201. How did he use his authority? How did he administer the laws? With whom did Cleander share his ill-gotten wealth? What caused the people to rise against him?

202. What was his fate? How was Commodus affected by the loss of his favorite? What is related of his brutality?

203. What is said of his tastes? What of his performances in the circus? What of him as a gladiator?

204. Who censured his conduct? What was the consequence of his anger?

205. Give an account of the conspiracy that followed. Who was selected to succeed Commodus? What is related of Pertinax?

206. How was the offer of the empire made to him?

207. What was done by the Senate? How was the body of Commodus to be treated? What was the conduct of Pertinax? What custom did he disallow in his family? What changes took place in the palace?

208. How old was he when he began to reign? What evils and abuses did he correct? How was he regarded?

209. What is said of the Roman soldiery? What attempt was made by the Prætorian guards? How was their conspiracy quelled? What did they, soon after, undertake?

210. What was the conduct of Pertinax? What was his fate? By whom were the Prætorian bands instituted? What account is given of them?

211. How were they located? How did they regard themselves? What is said of their demands?

212. What is related of Sulpicianus? How was the offer of Sulpicianus regarded?

213. What proclamation was made by one of the band? What took place, as the news of it spread? Who were the chief bidders for the empire? What were their respective bids; and who was successful?

214. What is related of Didius in presence of the Senate? What were now the feelings of the Senate towards the Prætorian bands? How did they treat Didius?

215. What is said of Niger and Severus? What was the position of Didius? What course did he pursue? What offer did he make to Severus?

216. What resolution was taken by the Senate? How was Didius disposed of? What then occurred between the Senate and Severus?

217. What commands did Severus send to the Prætorian bands? How did he then treat them? What did Severus do, on entering the city?

218. Of whose power did Severus feel afraid, and of whom was he jealous? How did he get rid of these persons?

219. What was, subsequently, the fate of Albinus? What was his success against the Parthians? What expedition did he now resolve to make? Whom did he appoint his joint successors in the empire?

220. What is said of this expedition to Britain? What

was the effect of his labors? What is related of his death? What was the character of his successors?

221. What was the feeling subsisting between them? How were their quarrels terminated? How did Caracalla save his own life?

222. Of what further cruelties was he guilty? In what way did he secure the protection of the Prætorian soldiers? What is related of his journeys and cruelties in foreign countries?

223. What follies did he commit in the different cities through which he passed? Who sustained him in all this? Relate the circumstances that led to the murder of Caracalla.

225. What hopes were now entertained by Macrinus?

226. By whom was he elected emperor? What was the action of the Senate? What reforms were undertaken by Macrinus? How were they received? What were the feelings of the army towards him?

227. What is related concerning a young priest at Emesa? Whence did the new emperor derive his name?

228. How did Macrinus proceed against Heliogabalus? What course was pursued by the Senate? What was the character of Heliogabalus?

229. How did he behave? What were the follies that made up his entire reign?

230. How did his grandmother propose to save him from impending ruin? What did he thereupon do? What was his conduct subsequently?

231. What was his end? Who was made emperor? What was the character of Alexander? What reforms did he undertake?

232. What did he do for the army? How was he regarded by the Prætorian guards? How did he show his gratitude?

233. How did they become irritated against him? Upon whom did they visit their anger? What is said of Alexander's first military expedition?

234. What means did Maximin employ to overthrow Alexander? Under what circumstances was Maximin proclaimed emperor? What was the conduct and fate of Alexander?

235. By whom was Alexander regretted? How had he treated the Christians?

IX.—DECLINE OF THE EMPIRE.

Page 241. Where did Maximin hold his court? Why? Give some account of Maximin. Why did the senators despise him?

242. What is said of his wonderful strength? How did he revenge himself upon the nobles? How oppress the rich?

243. What is said of his military operations? What conspiracy was formed against him? Who was compelled to assume the insignia of royalty?

244. Upon what condition did Gordianus promise to accept the title of emperor? How did the Senate receive his election? For what purpose did they send men to the Prætorian camp? How were the people aroused against Maximin?

245. What was the fate of the two Gordians? How was Rome affected by this event? Whom did the Senate choose in their place? Upon what did the people insist?

246. Who was associated with Maximus and Balbinus? How did Maximin behave on hearing this news? What effect had the opposition of the Senate upon him? To what resolution did his outrageous conduct bring his soldiers?

247. How was his death and that of his son accomplished? In what manner did the Prætorian soldiers assert their supremacy?

248. Whom did they proclaim sole successor to the throne? What was the character of this prince? What the state of the empire? What enemies invaded the empire? How were they repelled? Who was Misithæus? What was his fate? Who was Philip?

249. In what manner did he ascend the throne? What peace did he conclude? What city did he build? What year was completed in his reign? What games were celebrated? Describe this festival.

250. What does the history of this period exhibit? Describe the state of the empire. What was the fate of Gordian? What rebellion broke out? What became of Marinus?

251. Whom did Philip send to Mœsia to restore peace? To what did the soldiers compel Decius? What choice did they give him? How was the death of Philip brought about? What plans did Decius form?

252. What persecution arose? What invasion succeeded? Give an account of the army of Decius and his death. Who obtained the empire?

253. Who was associated with him? What treaty did Gallus make? What four things rendered the condition of the empire deplorable? What is said of Hostilianus?

254. What was done by Æmilianus? Why was he proclaimed emperor? Give an account of the conflict between him and Gallus. Who avenged the death of Gallus?

255. In what manner was Valerian elevated to the throne? Who was declared his successor? How old was Valerian? What is said of his conduct, and how was he regarded? Why could he not save the empire?

256. What was done by Valerian? With what design? How was he deceived? How made a captive?

257. Give an account of the shameful treatment of Valerian. What is said of his son Gallienus?

258. How many aspirants to supreme power arose? Describe the end of Gallienus. Who was his successor?

259. What is said of the reign of Claudius? Who had pillaged Athens? How many barbarians were overthrown? Who was Zenobia?

260. What put an end to the enterprises of Claudius? Who was recommended by Claudius as successor? What is

said of Quinctilius? What was done by Aurelian against the enemies of the empire? Against whom did he turn his arms?

261. Who acknowledged the supremacy of Zenobia? Where was her residence? What was her ambition? How did Aurelian proceed against her?

262. Where did the hostile armies meet? Which was defeated? Where again did they meet? Where did Zenobia fly? What is said of her capture? Of what perfidy was she guilty? What was undertaken by Aurelian?

263. How did he treat the Christians and others? Give an account of his death. What is an interregnum? How long did that after the death of Aurelian continue? How was this accounted for?

264. Who was elected by the Senate? How old was Tacitus? How was his elevation regarded? What is said of his reign? How long did it continue?

265. What now threatened the empire? Who was Probus? How long was his reign? Whom did he subdue? What caused his death?

266. What is said of his monument? Whom did the soldiery select as emperor? Who were associated with Carus? What is said of Carus? What of his death? What of the death of Numerian?

267. Who was the next emperor? Who was associated with him? What were his exploits? What difficulties arose?

268. Into how many parts was the empire now divided? What were the names of the four emperors? How was the empire harassed? What is said of the persecution of the Christians?

269. What act caused astonishment? What was done by Constantius and Galerius? Who were they? Where did Constantius reside? To whom did he bequeath the empire? What of Galerius?

270. What filled the empire with dissensions?

X.—ROME ABANDONED.

Page 273. In whose reign did the city of Rome cease to be the capital of the empire? How old was Constantine at his father's death? Describe him.

274. How was the empire divided at this time? What provinces had Constantine? What did Galerius impose upon Rome? How did the Senate show resentment?

275. Who was elevated to the throne by the Senate? What was done by Maximian? Who marched with an army to Rome? Where did he take refuge? Who took him prisoner?

276. What is said of his death? What alliance was formed among the emperors? Who was Licinius? Why did Galerius march towards Rome? Why did he not enter? Whom did he appoint to the throne?

277. Who else were appointed emperors? How many emperors were there at this time? What were their names? In what manner did Maxentius treat his father? Where did Maximian seek refuge?

278. To what act did his love of power prompt him? How was it punished? What became of Galerius? What division was next made? What caused great suffering at Rome?

279. Describe the cruelty of Maxentius. How was all Italy treated by him? How did he spend his time? Of what did he boast?

280. Why did he throw down the statues of Constantine? What did Constantine then do? How did Maxentius treat his demand? How did their armies compare?

281. What course did Constantine pursue? What cities did he take? What is said of the siege of Verona?

282. Its surrender? How did Maxentius pass his time? How was he aroused? What was done by him?

283. Give an account of Constantine's vision. What was done by Constantine? To what place did he march?

284. Where did he meet the armies of Maxentius? What was the result of this battle? What the fate of Maxentius?

285. How did Constantine conduct himself on entering Rome? How did the Senate and people show their joy? What is said of the Prætorian guards?

286. What is related of Maximin? What emperors remained? Why, and how, did they divide the empire?

287. What was the length of the peace between them? What, during this time, was done by Constantine? What was now his object?

288. In what manner did Licinius resist him? How did he succeed? Where did he take refuge?

289. Describe the naval engagement. Describe the flight of Licinius, his surrender, and death.

290. What effect had the Christian profession of Constantine on the Christian Church? Who was Arius; and what was done by him? How many bishops assembled at the Council of Nice? For what purpose? How did Constantine try to restore order?

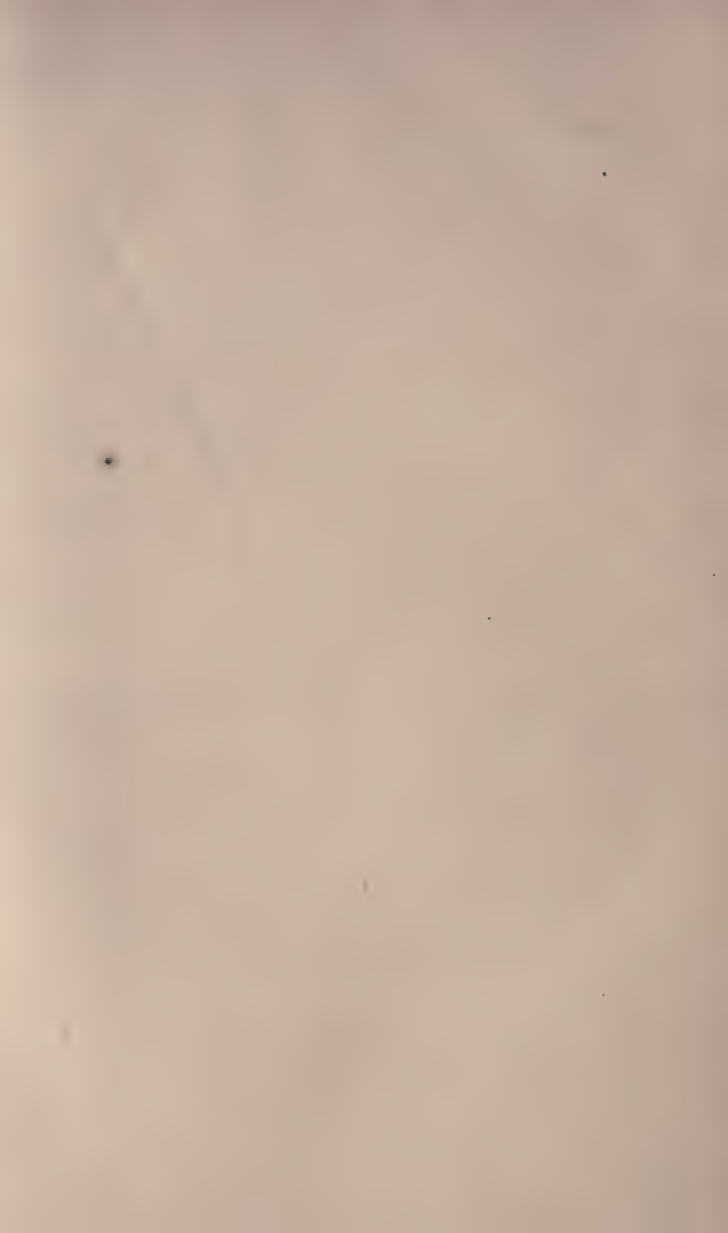
291. What was the end of Arius? Was Rome now the capital of the empire? What spot did Constantine fix upon for it?

292. How was Byzantium afterwards chosen? What name was given to it? How is it here described?

293. Give an account of the dedication of Constantinople. How was the new capital peopled?

294. What people fell upon Rome? What was the effect upon the empire of the abandonment of Rome? What upon the emperor? How was the end of Constantine's reign sullied? What was his last employment?





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